TN S T U1891 bO
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
37614
3DC
E3E
AUG 28 1986

The Nation.

April 26, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE

It was no stray bomb from a crippled plane that fell on Democratic doves in the heat of the attack on Libya, but a missile targeted by President Reagan to obliterate opposition to his foreign policy. Edward Kennedy and Tip O'Neill were the first to cry uncle, even before Reagan rallied the nation from the Oval Office. The rest of the Democratic Congressional establishment was on its knees before dawn. Only oddballs like Jesse Jackson, Ron Dellums and Pat Schroeder, and Republican mavericks with no power base like Lowell Weicker and Mark Hatfield, sounded a note of protest. However problematic the consequences of Reagan's raid for world peace and the Middle East, it must be counted an unqualified success in the domestic political dimension.

The disappearance of the Democratic opposition comes at a time when the party is beginning to define its position for the next presidential campaign. Democrats meeting recently in Washington argued bitterly over a draft report prepared by their Policy Commission that was harshly critical of Administration conduct in foreign affairs. The dispute falls along the old fault line opened during the Vietnam War, when doves broke with hawks over the issues of interventionism, militarism and détente.

Reagan has found a way to insulate the Democratic debate by manipulating the terms of patriotism and consensus with his bombers and bombast. He must not be allowed to destroy the party of peace within the divided Democratic coalition. If the liberals collapse over Libya, they may never regroup to meet the foreign policy challenges Reagan has in store: in Nicaragua, in East-West summitry, in Angola and in space. And they will surely lose whatever legitimate call they have on progressive voters in the elections two years from now.

INVASION OF THE RICH
Calvin Trillin

THE HORMEL STRIKE
Nicolaus Mills

BASEBALL'S FAMILY IMAGE
Jamie Kitman

LITERARY PARTISANS
James Gilbert

MELANIE KLEIN
Elisabeth Young-Bruehl

'LAS MADRES'
Marcia Pally

ISRAELI CABINET SHIFT

MUSICAL CHAIRS FOR HIGH STAKES

DAVID TWERSKY

Tel Aviv

Following last week's government crisis, the major struggle in Israeli political circles centers on how to describe the continued uncertainty surrounding the future of the national unity government and of the unique rotation of ministers scheduled to be put into effect in October. Can Prime Minister Shimon Peres still find an issue over which to break the agreement to turn his office over to Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir and, assuming he wins early elections, hold on to power? Or will the Prime Minister hand over power to Likud on schedule rather than risk the political fallout sure to accompany the breakup of the government? And how should we read the latest crisis, stemming from the Prime Minister's determination to replace his Likud Finance Minister, Yitzhak Modai? In the end, Likud agreed to have Modai switch Cabinet portfolios with the Justice Minister, Moshe Nissim, a Likudnik whose ambitions threaten no one. All this political horse-trading, which only left the Israeli public dismayed, revealed the ongoing struggle for power between the two major parties.

For Labor, the rotation agreement—which created the national unity government in September 1984 after neither of the two major parties was able to form a governing coalition—has built-in multiple dangers. A Shamir prime ministry will work to derail whatever progress has been made on the peace front with Jordan and the Palestinians, and will stall the progress with Egypt. In addition Likud controls the finance ministry, and Labor fears that in the next election the right-wing bloc will depict Labor as the party of austerity, and itself as the

(*Continued on Page 583*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCHANGE.

The following is a selection of the letters we've received on Gore Vidal's March 22 article, "The Empire Lovers Strike Back." We will be running more letters on Vidal's article and on the 120th anniversary issue, "Looking at the United States," in the next few weeks. Vidal's replies appear in italics after each letter.

A 'BRUTISH PIECE'

New York City

The thuggish level of anti-Semitism in *The Nation* has never been a joking matter. . . . And that sluttish, brutish piece by Gore Vidal on Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter is a further example of an editor's hand no longer in control. Knocking Podhoretz up the side of the head for an inane foreign policy is like shooting fish in a barrel: no more difficult, no more interesting. But Vidal's leering, taunting, look-at-how-clever-I-am anti-Semitic assault on Podhoretz and Decter breaks the bounds of discourse. I thought I was back in the 1930s, reading *Der Sturmer*. But don't blame Vidal; this self-proclaimed "current biographer" of America can be set off on greater excrescences at the mere whisper of Bill Buckley's name. No, don't blame Vidal. The fault, Navasky, is not in *The Nation*'s stars but in yourself. *Joseph Wershba*

Joseph Wershba needs psychiatric attention of a sort that I cannot provide. Who—or what—is Bill Buckley?

MISANTHROPIC DRECK

New York City

No one can deny Gore Vidal's right to rake "Poddy" and Midge and "predatory" Israel over the coals. But I confess to having grown nervous as he took it on himself to decide which of us was and was not properly "assimilated." I seem to remember that Podhoretz was born in Brooklyn, which makes him every bit as American as someone whose ancestors managed to fight on both sides of the Civil War. It's nice to know that Gore's family hedged their bets. But will that stop our aging misanthrope from sallying forth to paste yellow stars on those of us "foreigners" whose Americanism is questionable because we like Israel? No, a paranoia so refined speaks of more than ancestry. What besides Israel, Jews and Zionism would send our boy Gore into a chorus filled with the likes of LaRouche, Farrakhan and Evans and Novak?

When I was a child, my unsentimental Jewish grandmother (ancestral voices, all!) used to take me on her bony Semitic knees and say, "The only thing they hate more than Jews is Jews with guns. Get a gun." Of course, she didn't know *bubkes* about the Civil War, didn't drop Norman Mailer's name like a yo-yo and had never even heard of the War of the Roses. Still, she had a prominent Jewish nose and was unerring in her ability to smell anti-Semitic dreck.

Leonard Kriegel

I trust "our boy" Leonard will follow his grandmother's wise advice and get a gun; then he can join the Israeli Army, as I enlisted, at the age of 17, in the U.S. Army during World War II.

RACIST HISTORY

New Bedford, Mass.

I agreed with the thrust, and enjoyed the coruscating style, of Gore Vidal's attack on the pro-Israel lobbyists in *The Nation*'s 120th anniversary issue. But I was disturbed by a sort of unthinking racism implied by his opening remarks. He states that the Soviet Union and the United States should ally as "the white race" in defense against "the more than 1 billion grimly efficient Asiatics" of Japan and China.

The very premise of Vidal's geopolitical theory is framed in racialist terms. His stereotype of Asians ("Asiatics" in this context is an offensive term) lends itself to a racist view of them. But perhaps even worse, his dubbing the United States a "white" country shows extreme insensitivity toward Americans of other colors. It is a worse mistake than asserting we are a Christian nation. While the dominant majority of our country is relatively light-skinned and of European extraction, the United States' population has always contained a large minority who do not fit that bill. Are they "nonpeople" to Vidal, somewhat as the Palestinians are often regarded in Israel? As a white American myself and a student of American history, like Vidal, I am thankful I do not see that history through his lenses.

Finally, neither is the Soviet Union a "white" nation. Like the United States, it contains a significant minority of darker-skinned citizens, who are, in fact, Asians.

These distinctions are important. To be oblivious to them is simply another form of racism. *Jack Stauder*

I thought that my endless quotations from Theodore Roosevelt et al. about the manifest destiny of the white race to rule all other races made it obvious that, when I went into reverse and pointed out that now the white race is a minority race, the current economic triumphs of the "Asiatics" might turn out to be a very bad thing for us if they should ever be tempted to treat us racially as badly as we have treated them over the centuries. Hence, an alliance with the Soviet Union to counterbalance the Sino-Japanese hegemony.

The fact that the populations of the United States and the Soviet Union are variously tinted is beside the point, as anyone in Tokyo will tell you. In trying to explain why the white race in general and Americans in particular are so universally hated I had not realized to what extent I was bringing unwelcome news to some Nation *readers, such as Jack Stauder.*

OFFENSIVE GORE

New York City

In stark contrast to his January 11 essay in *The Nation*, "Requiem for the American Empire," and to most of the other articles in *The Nation*'s 120th anniversary issue, Gore Vidal's contribution was disappointing and disconcerting. I found his petty vindictiveness, neo-anti-Semitism and superficiality offensive.

His contribution is presented as a response to Norman Podhoretz's and Midge Decter's criticisms of his last essay. Considering that "Requiem for the American Empire" was eloquent and insightful enough not to need defense, Vidal's response seems obsessively personal and crude. Surely he has more important things to do than to publicize his personal feuds. If he wants to pursue a vendetta and can't do so privately, he should at least do so intelligently. The only clear fact in his most recent essay is that Gore doesn't like Norm and Midge. Compared with the rest of the anniversary issue, Vidal's contribution is trite.

The alleged reason Gore doesn't like Norm and Midge, and the closest thing to an argument in the essay, is that they and their like-minded coreligionists became neoconservatives "in order to get military and economic support for Israel." That is an interesting idea, and if Vidal had presented it and discussed it instead of slung it, his essay might have been worth something. But sling it he did, accusing these Jews of being an "Israeli Fifth Column Division." The implication—that American Jews who support Israel are traitors to their country—is pure anti-Semitism. Vidal admits he realized that such Jews' first loyalty is to Israel when Podhoretz remarked that the Civil War isn't personally relevant. Come on! It's bad enough that Vidal is a mild racist. (His unfortunate interpretation of "Requiem" is that the white race must protect itself against the Sino-Japanese world. Biologically, culturally and politically, there is no such thing as a white race, and the phrase deliberately excludes many Americans.) For him to accuse every Zionist who doesn't care about the Civil War of being a traitor is idiocy. I am offended by this re-emergence of the dual-loyalty issue without any evidence. How many Zionists have to pay taxes, work for their community and die for their country to prove their loyalty? How far is Vidal's reasoning from that which was used to justify the internment in concentration camps of Japanese-Americans during World War II?

It is the lack of evidence in Vidal's article that disturbs me the most. For his argument

(*Continued on Page 588*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 242, Number 16

EXCHANGE
570

EDITORIALS
569 Pre-emptive Strike
571 The Real Targets
572 Simone de Beauvoir
572 Tax Deceit? *Kai Bird and Max Holland*
573 Back to the 1960s *Elsa Dixler*

COLUMNS
574 Uncivil Liberties *Calvin Trillin*
575 Capitol Letter *Kai Bird and Max Holland*
576 Beat the Devil *Alexander Cockburn*

Drawings by David Shannon

ARTICLES
569 Israeli Cabinet Shift: Musical Chairs for High Stakes *David Twersky*
578 The Hormel Strike: Why Local P-9 Is Going It Alone *Nicolaus Mills*
581 Baseball's New Family Image: The Owners' Moral Grandstanding *Jamie Kitman*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
589 Bloom: Prodigal Sons: The New York Intellectuals And Their World *James Gilbert*
592 Grosskurth: Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work *Elisabeth Young-Bruehl*
594 Kenney: Orrery *Jay Parini*
595 Films *Marcia Pally*

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Vania Del Borgo, Judith Long; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Gwen Bondi (Washington), David P. Appell, Julia Burch, Paul W. Cohen, Dave Goldiner, David C. Lanchner, David L.L. Laskin, Todd Lewan; *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Fiction,* Terrence Rafferty; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* Evan Eisenberg, David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Capitol Letter*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky. © 1986 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price.* One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

The Real Targets

The President and the press link the bombardment of Libya to the explosion in a West Berlin disco, but the relationship between the two acts of violence is better described by option and opportunity than by cause and effect. The decision to wage war against Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi was made many years ago, in the context of a global strategy and a regional campaign developed by the Reagan Administration to project American military power in the Middle East, to wreak revenge on the Moslem world for a long list of economic and political insults, and to assert the inalienable right of the President of the United States to strike "any part of the earth," as Reagan once said, in defense of the national interest as he defines it. The pretext could be found, provoked or supplied at any time. There is more than enough madness in the world to justify round-the-clock raids from Seoul to Soweto if Reagan chose to loose his lightning and slash his sword on an equal-opportunity basis.

The particularity of American aims in last week's twelve-minute war should help explain the reluctance of America's allies to rush to the aid of the President. Except for Prime Minister Thatcher, whose special relationship to the U.S. Administration seems sanctified by vows of obedience and

East Tennessee State University
Johnson City Tennessee 37614
APR 28 1986
LICENSED FOR NON-COMMERCIAL
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

professions of faith, the NATO nations saw no good reason to participate in operations designed to serve military purposes and answer political needs quite apart from their own. Self-defense and counterterrorism make convenient claims for U.S. officials who seek to summon broad support for their policies, but the Europeans have enough sophistication to look beyond the rhetoric and identify the real referents of the American action: superpower sparring in the Mediterranean, oil diplomacy, Israel, Iran and, farther afield, Nicaragua and anti-interventionist sentiment in the United States.

If there were a universally acceptable definition of terrorism that did not logically rely on political judgments, President Reagan might have moral grounds for choosing his targets. If terrorism were a single syndrome that could be isolated and annihilated by surgical strikes or a concerted campaign, the United States might not stand alone. If Qaddafi were primarily responsible for the mindless violence that has tormented Europe and the Middle East for a generation at least, he could be removed and peace would reign. But those suppositions defy logic as well as truth. Reagan and his generals have adopted the ideological construct of international terrorism as a political reality, and they are now faced with the impossible task of waging war against a phantom enemy. Acts of terror are real and awful, but a conspiracy of terror embracing every airport explosion and car bombing from Beirut to Paris is a figment of fear and a projection of frustration. Secretary of State Shultz said he hoped the attack on Libya would "eventually act as a deterrent," and President Reagan thought that the mission, "violent though it was, can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women." But no one else discerns light at the end of that tunnel, or believes that this latest escalation of violence is more than another loop in an endless cycle of war in which Colonel Qaddafi is only one minor, if temporarily prominent, figure.

If the bombardment brought ghoulish jubilation to America and was received with cautious trepidation in Western Europe, it must have had an impact on the rest of the world that will resound down the decades to come and produce unforeseeable shocks. Our media present the image of a stern but just power punishing a hateful tyrant. Others see a radically different scene, of a rich imperial army battering a poor disorganized people, of a First World war on the Third, of the North against the South, of America against Africa, of the white race against the brown. Reagan maintains that the principal threat to peace and the historic enemy of American democracy is the Soviet Union, but his missions are directed against Libya, Lebanon, Grenada and Nicaragua—the smallest, weakest targets he can find, societies emerging from centuries of colonial domination and still searching for an independent identity. Thirty attack bombers can strike a stunning blow. If instead the United States' objective were to resolve the political inequities and assist the social development of those countries now under its guns, the costs in every way would be less and the benefits in the long run would be far greater than what has been achieved by a mission of violence.

Simone de Beauvoir

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." Those words—arguing that femininity is a cultural, not a biological, condition—ring through the history of modern Western feminism. Nearly forty years after its publication, Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* remains a challenging, exhilarating exploration of what it means, philosophically and historically, to be a woman. It is as powerful a feminist statement as we have.

So was de Beauvoir's life, which ended last week. Born in 1908, she pursued an independent career as a teacher, writer and philosopher. Her long relationship with Jean-Paul Sartre, full of comradeship and commitment but eschewing marriage, was an inspiration to many feminists—although recently published letters suggest that the theory was better than the practice.

Always politically active, both as a feminist and as a leftist, de Beauvoir protested French imperialism in Algeria and the American variety in Vietnam, as well as French abortion laws and violence against women. In a time when feminists and socialists have often formed two distinct groups, de Beauvoir showed us how closely connected the two visions are.

Tax Deceit?

A pro-*contra* group in Washington may be in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service over its claim of tax-exempt status. In mid-March the Friends of the Democratic Center in Central America (PRODEMCA) took out a full-page advertisement in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and other newspapers, under the headline "We Support Military Assistance to the Nicaraguans Fighting for Democracy." The ad was signed by a number of neoconservative personalities, including Martin Peretz, Leon Wieseltier, David Aaron, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Michael Novak, Morris B. Abrams, Penn Kemble, Samuel Huntington and Ben J. Wattenberg.

The ad did not mention that PRODEMCA received $100,000 from the National Endowment for Democracy to fund the anti-Sandinista daily, *La Prensa*. It proclaimed the organization's "nonpartisan" nature and its commitment to "a practical alternative to extremism of the Left and Right" in Central America.

Included was a coupon requesting "tax-deductible" contributions from the public. According to the Internal Revenue Service, however, PRODEMCA has not been recognized as a charitable or educational organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. A spokesman for the I.R.S. told us that falsely claiming that contributions are tax-deductible is a violation of state consumer fraud statutes and that PRODEMCA could be prosecuted for "misrepresentation and deceit."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After repeated telephone calls to the organization, we finally got through to Penn Kemble, who is associated with both PRODEMCA and the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, which for years has been trying to move the Democratic Party to the right. When we asked Kemble about the group's tax status, he was evasive. At first he said he didn't want to talk about it. Then he assured us, "We are very comfortable with our financial situation." When pressed, he claimed the I.R.S. had recognized PRODEMCA as a nonprofit organization. Asked if he would show us a copy of the I.R.S. ruling, he refused. When we told him that the I.R.S. had no record of granting such status, Kemble explained, "We are consulting with people on the Hill and soon will issue a statement that will resolve this problem."

It is possible the PRODEMCA is affiliated with a parent organization that has qualified for tax-exempt status. But the I.R.S. frowns on a group listed under another organization's name soliciting tax-deductible contributions. The tax code requires the district director to issue a formal reprimand in such cases. If PRODEMCA is part of an umbrella group, why is it hiding the fact? And if it is not, hasn't it misled the public and shouldn't it return the contributions it received?

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

Back to the 1960s

Tom Hayden, Daniel Ellsberg and Townsend Hoopes were slated to be on the panel at Hofstra University's recent conference on the presidency of Lyndon Baines Johnson, but I went to see the war criminals. They were the other discussants of "The Vietnam War in Perspective"—William Sullivan, William Bundy and Walt Rostow. "Lyndon Johnson told the nation/Have no fear of escalation," I hummed to myself.

Many progressives have trouble living in the 1980s, but I think we aging sixties types have the hardest time. The events and personalities of twenty years ago still seem so vivid; the current players are shadows on the walls of the cave. For me the problem was compounded by turning 40. Not only do I not understand how we got here; I can't imagine how I got so old.

It turns out everyone else got old too, including the war criminals. My notes are full of observations about who had a full head of gray hair and who had put on weight. Some of the speakers had matured as well as aged. Bundy, who was Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1964 to 1969, now sees the war as a mistake: "I feel very humble about Vietnam. I never go to Washington without going to the Memorial." Sullivan, a former Ambassador to Laos, offered the wry proposition that the country was better off now than it would have been if the United States had won the war and still had troops in Vietnam. Hayden, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society and a leader of the peace movement, who is now a member of the California State Assembly, said that his generation of veterans as well as former protesters wanted to heal the divisions created by the war, "but not at the expense of truth." Hayden said he regrets some of his attitudes or actions, but he did not disavow the antiwar movement.

Other participants had not changed their views. Hoopes, who was Under Secretary of the Air Force from 1967 to 1969, gave a talk that might have come directly from his fine critique of the war, *The Limits of Intervention*. Rostow, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from 1966 to 1969, was professorial, warning the many high-school students in the audience to be aware of each panelist's bias and to examine the underlying assumptions of every statement. In his view, the South Vietnamese won the war but Congress lost it by cutting funds in the wake of Watergate. When someone in the audience asked him whether he had any regrets, he answered that he should have fought harder for an invasion of North Vietnam, which he proposed in 1967. The last panelist whose views hadn't changed wasn't there. Daniel Ellsberg was dealing with legal complications arising from his arrest a few days earlier at the underground nuclear test site in Nevada. The audience cheered as the moderator read his statement: "This is what I learned working for Lyndon Johnson. . . . There are times you must say no."

Hayden was clearly the crowd's favorite, drawing the most applause and the most questions. He also drew the only disruption. A man in fatigues who looked too young to have been in the war unfurled a Vietnamese flag and asked Hayden about the trip he took to Hanoi "to give aid and comfort to the Commies." Hayden responded calmly. He described returning to Washington from one trip with a planeload of just-released servicemen to find the city in flames because of riots. At the time he wondered, Hayden recalled, how the soldiers felt about what was happening to the America they thought they were defending. "That was why we wanted to end the war," he said quietly.

That was why we wanted to end the war. When he said that, I could see through his politician's equivocations and his $500 suit to the skinny, angry kid. I missed that kid, and I missed hating the men who sat before me on the stage. Eighteen years ago it might have been me rather than the boy in the vet's costume who disrupted the gathering; only I would have called Walt Rostow a war criminal. He is, of course. He's also an avuncular old man. I couldn't help but notice, too, how far superior these war criminals seem to the current variety. Whether or not the men who brought us the Vietnam War were the best and the brightest (I always doubted it), they're better and smarter than the ones who are planning the war in Central America. Yet I hate the new ones less. We all do, I think.

I'll always miss the 1960s. I'll miss the music and the drugs and the demonstrations and the sense of power. I'll miss the clarity of purpose: if World War II was the good war, Vietnam was the good war to be against. But there aren't any war criminals anymore, just a bunch of old men. The Vietnam vets and the old S.D.S.'ers now look alike. We're all 40, and we've been through the same war.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A young woman asked Hayden what pointers he could give about organizing against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. Everyone laughed at the way she'd cornered him, but the new, blow-dried Hayden ducked the question. Chuckling, he observed, "I see that someone wants to get on with the eighties." Guess it's time. ELSA DIXLER

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

I pinned what Pam Blessinger said about rich people on my bulletin board. For a few months now, it has been in the section I reserve for permanent display, right next to a Wizard of Oz quotation that somehow comforts displaced Midwesterners in New York City by stating what should be increasingly obvious: "Toto, I don't think we're in Kansas anymore."

Pam Blessinger spoke as president of the residents' association of New York's Roosevelt Island, which is in the East River in a spot usually described as under the shadow of the 59th Street Bridge. Developed ten years ago as a middle-income "new town," Roosevelt Island has become a quiet, family sort of place that one of Blessinger's fellow residents described to *The New York Times* as "an island of Indiana in the middle of Manhattan."

Blessinger was quoted in *The Times* in opposition to a proposed expansion of the development which would include what looked to her suspiciously like luxury apartments. "We're not against white or black or purple," she said. "What we're against is rich people."

There. She said it. The rest of us have been pussyfooting around this for years, afraid of being called prejudiced. Not Mrs. B. She could envision the peaceful lanes of her little island jammed with triple-parked stretch limousines waiting in front of restaurants where a plate of spaghetti costs $18 and change. She could see the day when respectable citizens who have to get up and go to work the next morning would be awakened in the middle of the night by the braying of rich people being dropped off after charity balls: "It was marvelous, darling! Wasn't it marvelous, darling? Yes, it was marvelous, darling!"

Mrs. B. said out loud what the rest of us have been thinking: Those folks can ruin a neighborhood lickety-split.

No, we are not prejudiced. We wouldn't mind one or two rich people, but these days the supply of them seems inexhaustible. The *Forbes* list of the country's 400 richest people is so jammed with the truly loaded that someone with, say, only $145 million to his name can't even get mentioned. He has to walk around uncertified by *Forbes*, like some sort of deadbeat.

As seems to be true of so many recent developments in American life, this surfeit of richies has come as a surprise to me. When I was growing up, one of the most important things about truly rich people was that there weren't very many of them. Also, my high-school teachers told us that people like the Rockefellers had grabbed their piles before the tax laws made it impossible to amass huge personal fortunes.

So why have so many people become as rich as the Rockefellers? Is it possible that these rich people know something about the tax laws that my high-school teachers didn't know?

Most of the rich people are in New York. I don't care what *Forbes* says about where they live. They're here. We've got Texas rich people and California rich people and Colorado rich people. We've got rich people with new money and rich people with old money and rich people whose money just needs to sit in the window for a few days and ripen in the sun. There's no variety of rich people we don't have in overstock. New York has more rich people than some cities have people.

For a while, I thought other places might be sending us their rich people. ("Listen, if Frank down at the Savings and Loan doesn't quit talking about how many Jaguars he owns, we're just going to have to put him in the next shipment to New York.") It even occurred to me that whoever is in charge of these other places might have misread the poem on the Statue of Liberty, which definitely says, "Give me your tired, your *poor*." People make mistakes.

Then I realized that the rich people were coming here on their own hook. They are swarming into New York because they want to be with people who are like they are—rich. There are a lot of places around the country, after all, where someone who is driven around in a stretched-out Cadillac limousine might be made light of ("Will you look at that thing old Albert's got himself? Don't you figure he must think he's always on his way to a funeral?"). For all I know, there are places around the country where someone who is driven around in a stretched-out Cadillac limousine might have rocks thrown at him.

"Send 'em back where they came from," a taxi driver who was hauling me up the East Side drive one day said as he struggled to get around a gaggle of limos. He had devised a rich people repatriation plan that sounded very much like Fidel Castro's Mariel boatlift, except that he'd use private jets instead of fishing boats.

"But that would be prejudiced and unfair," I said, although not terribly forcefully.

"Then send them to Idaho or Iowa or one of those places where there aren't any stoplights," he said. It is taken for granted by most New York taxi drivers that all states beginning with *I* are interchangeable parts of the same vast unpeopled prairie.

"Send 'em to Illinois," he said as we passed under the 59th Street Bridge. "Or Indiana." At that moment, he looked out onto the East River. "Or maybe just Roosevelt Island."

Copyright ©1986 Calvin Trillin. Distributed by Cowles Syndicate, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITOL LETTER.

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

■ Primal Screen

Terrel Bell, President Reagan's Secretary of Education from 1981 to 1984, calls them zealots with "radical and off-the-wall ideas." They are the self-styled "movement conservatives" affiliated with such right-wing organizations as the Heritage Foundation, Free the Eagle and the Free Congress Foundation. And they are having more success than ever in vetting appointments to the Federal government.

Reagan has increasingly allowed a small group of New Right luminaries to exercise a virtual veto over appointments for Federal positions. Prospective nominees are hauled before informal groups of conservatives and subjected to a grilling on their political and religious beliefs. Recent Cabinet appointees Dr. Otis Bowen and William Bennett successfully ran their ideological gauntlets, but some candidates have failed, most recently William Sheehan. A former president of ABC News, Sheehan was named earlier this year by U.S. Information Agency director Charles Z. Wick to head Voice of America. Wick, a close friend of the President, must have been out of touch with the movement conservatives, because they raised some sharp questions when they heard about the prospective appointment. Subsequently, he asked his nominee to try to neutralize the opposition by having lunch with some of the boys. Not realizing what he was in for, Sheehan consented.

On February 19 he showed up at Washington's elegant Ritz-Carlton Hotel for a lunch hosted by none other than Roy Cohn, the former aide to Joe McCarthy. According to Sheehan, Cohn was trying to do his friend Wick a favor by "running interference" for the nominee. In attendance were Richard Viguerie, the New Right fund-raiser; Tom Winter and Al Ryskind of *Human Events*; Jim Lucier, an aide to Senator Jesse Helms; Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media; and John Utley, a writer for numerous conservative magazines. Lucier quickly established the inquisitorial nature of the proceedings by saying: "We're going to be very blunt. . . . We're not comfortable with your twenty years' experience with ABC News." Sheehan's membership on the Public Broadcasting System's board meant he had "two strikes against him." He was then asked the following litmus-test questions:

What do you think of *The Washington Post*?
What do you think of Peter Jennings?
Would you be willing to instruct VOA newscasters to refer to the *contras* as freedom fighters?
Who did you vote for in the past presidential elections?

Sheehan admitted that Jennings was a personal friend and said he would not direct newscasters to call the *contras* freedom fighters because he thought the phrase sounded "jingoistic." He refused to tell his inquisitors for whom he had voted, saying it "is none of your damn business."

Although the lunch was a fiasco, Wick's deputy director, Marvin Stone, told Sheehan, "We can handle those people." Not so. A few weeks later Wick decided to withdraw Sheehan's name after receiving a letter from Helms threatening another of the long and nasty confirmation battles for which the radical right's point man in the Senate is notorious.

Sheehan's case is not exceptional; nor are the radical rightists content with vetting appointments. They also try to purge the government of heretics wherever they find them. Just ask John McMahon, the number-two man in the C.I.A.; Stuart Statler, a moderate Republican commissioner on the Consumer Products Safety Commission; and Loretta Cornelius, deputy director of the Office of Personnel Management. They are among the many officials who have been fired or have announced their resignations after feeling the wrath of the ultras.

■ Nixon Looks for a Loophole

When Richard Nixon resigned from the presidency, most Americans were under the impression that he had relinquished all the powers and perquisites of office. But twelve years later the Justice Department contends that in at least one particular, Nixon is still President. In essence the department claims that Richard Nixon, private citizen, may invoke executive privilege at his discretion to deny researchers access to almost any of his White House papers. This extravagant view of the doctrine of executive privilege, which some constitutional scholars consider suspect, is contained in a Justice Department memorandum commenting on the rules recently proposed by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) to regulate public access to Nixon's presidential papers.

The controversy stirred up by the memorandum is only the latest battle in a long war over the Nixon papers, which began shortly after the deposed President went into political exile. In 1974, outraged by a sweetheart agreement that allowed Nixon to destroy documents and tapes, Congress passed a law to guarantee access to the Nixon papers. Its provisions required NARA to propose regulations comparable with those governing public access to other Presidents' archives. But Nixon was bothered because the law closed a loophole that had enabled his modern predecessors to weed out certain embarrassing documents or at least delay their release for decades.

Five times NARA has attempted to issue its regulations, and five times it has failed. Now Reagan's Justice Department and the Office of Management and Budget are attempting to do for Nixon what he has tried vainly to accomplish himself through the courts: exclude certain documents from the public in perpetuity.

The story does not end there. The Justice Department's imaginative interpretation is of interest to the current President as well. After all, 1989 is less than three years away. Reagan will be the first President to be obliged to open his papers under the Presidential Records Act of 1978. Although that law provides Reagan ample opportunity to exercise the censorship prerogative available to all Presidents except Nixon, Administration officials may be backing Nixon's lavish claim of executive privilege to provide Reagan with insurance in case something slips through.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Superfiend

It is not surprising that the Qaddafi obsession should have sprouted so luxuriantly in the mulch of President Reagan's imagination. Reagan thinks almost exclusively in terms of myth and symbol and has identified Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi as the latest incarnation of that ancient and familiar stereotype in popular culture, the superfiend. His instinct was sure. Only when we examine the roots of the Qaddafi obsession can we understand why press coverage of the Libyan leader has been so consistently appalling.

The function of the superfiend is to act as receptacle for fantasies of an imperial, military, racist and sexual nature, with the fantasist experiencing no moral qualms about his reveries, reasoning that when it comes to absolute evil, normal standards of evidence and behavior may be cast aside.

This moral self-absolution is nicely represented by the phrase "mad dog," which the President used in his last press conference to describe Qaddafi. Everyone knows what happens to a mad dog. George Will stated the theme back in 1981: "Can the Western world be taken seriously in its rhetoric about terrorism, and indeed in its determination to survive [!], if a mad dog on the streets of the world, such as Gadaffi, is allowed to go on like this?"

Stress on Qaddafi's "madness" has the added function of reminding people about evil. Any devotee of trash culture over the past hundred years knows well that the dividing line between evil and madness is all but invisible, and superfiends are absolutely evil or absolutely mad or absolutely both depending on ethnic origin, religious faith and the exigencies of the plot. Chinese superfiends tended to be horribly rational, as did the Jewish villains in anti-Semitic fiction. Constantine Schuabe, the Jewish superfiend in the British best seller of 1903 *When It Was Dark*, had eyes that were "coldly, terribly *aware*, with something of the sinister and untroubled regard one sees in a reptile's eyes."

Chinese and Jewish villains were superfiendishly cold. Arab superfiends were, and are, hot, as befits men of fanatic faith, desert origin and uncertain but ardent erotic preference. Back in 1973, Shana Alexander touched on some of those attributes in a column in *Newsweek*: "Kaddafi, son of a barefoot Bedouin, dreamed as a child of overthrowing the evil King and leading his people out of poverty and back to the fierce purity of Islam." The phrase "fierce purity" has the correct ethno-sensual *frisson*, which sends us back to T.E. Lawrence's reflections on Bedouin sexuality in *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and to that great best seller of the 1920s *The Sheik*, by E.M. Hull. The theme of *The Sheik* was the subjugation of proud, upper-class, Western Diana Mayo by a fierce son of the desert, himself of impeccable lineage, as memorably established in Diana's tumultuous self-discovery:

> Quite suddenly she knew—knew that she loved him, that she had loved him for a long time, even when she thought she hated him. . . . her heart was given for all time to the fierce desert man who was so different from all other men she had met, a lawless savage who had taken her to satisfy a passing fancy and who had treated her with merciless cruelty. He was a brute, but she loved him, loved him for his very brutality, and superb animal strength. And he was an Arab! A man of different race and color, a native; Aubrey would indiscriminately class him as "a damned nigger." She did not care . . . she was deliriously, insanely happy.

The superfiend has, naturally enough, a superplot. And where Qaddafi is concerned, Western popular culture has not failed its task. In an excellent article titled "Qaddafi, Man and Myth," in *Africa Events* for February, John Haiman and Anna Meigs make some incisive observations. There is, for example, the close identification of Qaddafi the superfiend with the superfiends of James Bond movies and similar stereotypes in the great tradition.

They cite recent comic strips that seem to have been mandatory reading in the National Security Council. In one of them King Cybernoid plots world domination. His plan: kidnap the greatest minds of the free world—the commander of NATO, the chief F.B.I. agent, the United States' top nuclear scientist and Dr. Gustav Nemhauser, "the bacteriologist genius." The kidnappings go well, and it takes all Dr. Solar's ingenuity to rescue the cream of the military-industrial complex and thus save Western civilization. As Haiman and Meigs point out, "The extreme puerility of the pseudo-sci-fi trappings of this tale accords with the equal puerility of its political and social assumptions. Yet, while we dismiss the first as merely silly, we find, surprisingly, that with the second we are on familiar and thus respectable ground." Qaddafi, as in *The Fifth Horseman*, becomes the "nut with the bomb," stand-in for all the nuts in the world who actually have the bomb, sewage tank for fears of nuclear obliteration.

Qaddafi's great contribution to the anatomy of superfiendishness has been his deliberate and indeed joyous acceptance of the role thrust upon him by Western fantasists, right down to a cultivation of sexual ambiguity. Sometimes he gives interviews only to women journalists or makes a pass at Imelda Marcos; at other times he dashes about in campy military attire or unisex caftans. (Imelda Marcos told George Bush about the pass, and Bush urged her to give Director of Central Intelligence William Casey a "debriefing," or blow-by-blow account. Finally, Casey and his men asked her whether she'd gone all the way with the superfiend, at which—according to William Deedes's report in the London *Spectator*—she laughed and said, "What a question to ask a girl.")

Bottom line, in terms of myth and symbol, Qaddafi is a youthful portrait of Reagan, the aging Dorian Gray, embodying in his eccentric person the old actor's own characteristics: off-the-cuff braggadocio, a highly personal and romantic conception of the nature and state of the universe, and a demagogic relationship, though socially far more constructive, with the masses.

Thus Qaddafi is the puny parody of the vast Reaganite re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

ality. An Amnesty International study documents fourteen known cases of Libyan political killings or attempted killings by the famous "hit team," an unpleasant but minuscule total when set beside the killings wrought by U.S.-trained and -funded murderers in Central America alone, which number in the tens of thousands.

The U.S. press has given the Administration free rein in deploying Qaddafi fantasies in the past few years. There was no scrutiny of the circumstances under which two Libyan planes were shot down in 1981 after firing at U.S. jets, although there is evidence that the United States contrived a provocation. A few months later the press gleefully accepted the concoction of a Libyan plot to invade the Sudan aross 600 miles of desert. The absurd scenarios of Libyan hit men infiltrating from Canada to murder President Reagan were given serious credence by the press, which then refused to print the facts, as exposed in the *New Statesman* of August 16, 1985, that the "assassins" on the official U.S. list were prominent members of the (passionately anti-Libyan) Lebanese Shiite Amal.

Small wonder then that the mainstream press has (a) accepted without question Reagan's claims of irrefutable proof of Libyan complicity in the bombing of the West Berlin nightclub, even though his Administration has proved, time after time, to be populated by fanatical liars; (b) distorted the E.E.C.'s unanimous statement on the proper policy toward Libya, which was hostile to U.S. intent; (c) accepted Reagan's perversion of Article 51 of the U.N. Charter to mean a sanctioning of so-called pre-emptive defense against future attack, though by this interpretation Nicaragua would have a perfect right to bomb Washington tomorrow; (d) accepted without question the Administration's announced determination to avoid "collateral damage," even though *Time*, published before the raid but well briefed about its intentions, noted that Libyan intelligence service HQ is "in downtown Tripoli and hard to hit without causing heavy casualties among Libyan civilians" (as turned out to be the case), and even though military studies from Vietnam showed the F-111's missile system to be incapable of the vaunted "surgical precision"; (e) tried to place the blame for more than a hundred civilian casualties on Libyan antiaircraft missiles; (f) only reluctantly approached the evidence that the bombing assault was designed to kill Qaddafi and provide cover for a *coup d'état*; and (g) ignored the obvious fact that the raid, as with the confrontation in the Gulf of Sidra in March, was clearly timed to precede and inflect a Congressional vote on aid to the *contras*.

Beyond all this, the press partook in, and indeed willingly fostered, the Administration's hypostatizing of terrorism as an expression of its own paranoid vision of the world and also its magnification of Qaddafi, a diminutive figure on the world stage, into master terrorist and superfiend, a monster in racist fantasy whose end has to be achieved by any means, with the delirious hatred that is the mirror image of Diana Mayo's delirious love.

Technofantasy

The left has a regrettable tendency to share the right's technofantasies about the performance of military equipment: e.g., obsession with the (useless) U.S. "electronic battlefield" in Vietnam; deference to Defense Department claims of nuclear missile accuracy; and, a grave fault of David Pearson's analysis of the K.A.L. 007 affair, childish faith in the supposed efficiency of U.S. surveillance and communication systems. A fresh example is provided by the *contras*' howls for shoulder-fired heat-seeking missiles, claiming that only thus can they prevail against the Nicaraguans' Soviet MI-24 helicopter gunships. The Reagan Administration has denied the request for now, but I sense among the pwogwessive forces a feeling that if they ever get such missiles the *contras*' fortunes could revive. The pwogwessives need not quake.

The first of this type of weapon on the field of battle, the Soviet SAM-7, was used by North Vietnam in the mid-1960s and initially obtained a kill ratio of one in three. But U.S. pilots soon learned to decoy the missiles with flares and to mask the heat source of their helicopters. In the 1973 Yom Kippur war the Arabs fired more than 5,000 SAM-7s and, on the official Israeli count, scored somewhere between one and three kills.

The U.S. equivalent of the SAM-7 was the Redeye, made by the Pomona division of General Dynamics and later "upgraded," with a fantastic escalation in price, into the Stinger. In the early 1980s the United States gave some to the Chadians, who complained bitterly that they were useless.

Last Monday a couple of *contra* leaders interviewed in *The Miami Herald* claimed that the "humanitarian" aid had now rendered them ready for battle and with the missiles they would be assured of victory. They pointed to the success of the Blowpipe, the British equivalent of the SAM-7 and the Stinger, in the Falklands in downing Argentine planes. In his detailed study of the Falklands conflict, *Air War South Atlantic*, Jeffrey Ethell established that the Blowpipe missiles accounted for just two kills.

Lack of shoulder-fired missiles is merely the latest alibi for *contra* failure. In guerrilla struggles, after all, the basic precept remains that of Napoleon: in war the moral is to the material as three is to one. The Sandinistas aren't winning because they have six MI-24s. If the *contras* do ever get Stingers they will soon realize the limitations of the weapon. The launcher and the missile weigh thirty-five pounds, which means that you can't carry a rifle as well, and you get very tired. After World War II the great military writer S.L.A. Marshall established that the top load, including uniform and boots, for a soldier at maximum efficiency is forty pounds. Already the average *contra* in the field has to sustain a full file of *The New Republic* for the past six months (six pounds), the collected *New York Review* articles of Robert Leiken (lightweight but still burdensome), the essays of Charles Krauthammer (three pounds), as well as the entire pantheon of Western democratic thought as supplied by PRODEMCA in anthology form.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THE HORMEL STRIKE

Why Local P-9 Is Going It Alone

NICOLAUS MILLS

Austin, Minnesota

Unless you are looking for it, you could easily walk past the Austin Labor Center, where Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union has its headquarters. It seems like any other brick building in this quiet Minnesota town of 23,000, where drivers coming off the highway are greeted with a sign that proclaims: "Austin. Where the Good Life Is Here to Stay." The Labor Center blends in neatly with the Veterans of Foreign Wars hall down the block and the carwash across the street. The inside of the Labor Center gives the same comfortable feeling. In many ways it has the look of a union hall from the 1950s. On the front wall of the entryway there is a hand-lettered poster that reads, "Better to die on your feet than live on your knees." And on that same wall are black-and-white photographs of Harry Truman, Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale.

The labor war being waged in Austin is, however, anything but a throwback to the 1950s. Last August, P-9 struck Hormel, the giant meat-processing firm which in fiscal 1985 had sales of more than $1.5 billion and which since its founding in 1891 has controlled the life of Austin. Now in its eighth month, the P-9 strike has gone beyond the action of a militant local with fewer than 1,500 members against a company that just turned in a record $38.6 million profit. It has become an intralabor battle of enormous proportions. On one side stands the leadership of the 1.3 million-member United Food and Commercial Workers Union of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. The leadership believes that Local P-9 has chosen the wrong target at the wrong time, and it has made future strike pay contingent on the willingness of P-9 members to return to work and cross their own picket lines. On the other side stands P-9, which charges that the U.F.C.W. leaders have sided with and apologized for the corporation. It is convinced that with help from allies in the labor movement it can stop the givebacks demanded by Hormel.

So dramatic an intralabor dispute would be news at any time, but this one has gained special significance because both sides—as well as the media—have come to see it as a test case for organized labor in the 1980s. *The New York Times* recently described the Hormel strike as a "highly publicized failure." *The Washington Post* called it a monument to "union impotence." And in the labor movement the judgments have been just as strong. Those siding with the U.F.C.W. see P-9's difficulties as proof that the only way for unions to survive at present is to follow a concessionary strategy. Those siding with P-9 believe Ray Rogers, the labor organizer the local hired in 1984 to carry out a corporate campaign against Hormel, is correct when he says, "You can create a moment in history, so people can turn to Austin and say, 'That's where they turned back the onslaught against the labor movement.'"

The U.F.C.W. defends its Hormel strategy by pointing out that beginning in the late 1970s the meatpacking industry was in turmoil. Master agreements—contracts that cover an entire company and have a common expiration date—with Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Rath were undermined as conglomerates moved into meat processing, taking over the industry's giants, selling off their assets and refusing to modernize old plants. The result was an industry plagued with bankruptcies, plant closings and an upsurge of small, nonunion packers paying wages as low as $6 an hour. Its only alternative, the U.F.C.W. argues, was to make mid-contract concessions with the remaining giant meatpackers and focus on raising substandard wages at new plants. "We cannot raise the roof unless our foundation is solid," Lewie Anderson, the U.F.C.W.'s packinghouse director, insists.

The union, however, has not been content to make its case for a concessionary strategy and then let P-9 stand or fall by a militancy of which it disapproves. Unions that have attempted to send P-9 money via the international have had their checks returned, and sympathetic locals have been pressured to remain silent. Most serious of all has been the public war of words between the U.F.C.W. and P-9. The union says it went on the attack in response to the local's provocation, but at this point the U.F.C.W.'s savaging of P-9 has gone beyond counterattack. Its principal targets have been Ray Rogers, the head of Corporate Campaign Inc., and Jim Guyette, who in 1984 won P-9's presidency on the basis of his opposition to more concessions. Rogers is described by the U.F.C.W. as the "Ayatollah of Austin," and together he and Guyette are seen as having "successfully manipulated" a naïve local through a "propaganda stream" that "would have made Joseph Paul Goebbels' Nazi propaganda ministry envious." In turn, the rank and file of P-9 are portrayed as "innocent victims of Local P-9's extremist actions," men and women now trapped in a "hopeless cause."

The U.F.C.W.'s contention that P-9 will finally have to make additional concessions could, of course, prove correct. The local faces an uphill fight against a company ranked 235th on the Fortune 500 list, and in the absence of A.F.L.-C.I.O. support its problems have been made even harder. One can see why Anderson fears that the end result of the strike could be a nonunion plant in Austin. In the meantime, however, it is crucial to see that the situation in Austin is anything but a hopeless cause. P-9 is not engaged in a romantic crusade, nor is it led by radicals out of touch

---

Nicolaus Mills is a member of the editorial board of Dissent. *This fall Louisiana State University Press will publish his* The Crowd in American Literature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the rank and file. It is the rank and file that voted in Guyette, then voted out an executive board that favored the U.F.C.W.'s concessionary strategy. It is the rank and file that you see on picket lines which have, contrary to most reports, been effective in limiting production at a plant ordinarily responsible for from 40 to 50 percent of Hormel's total output.

Until 1984, P-9's history was anything but militant. Although it came into existence in 1933 with a sit-down strike, it did not strike again for the next fifty-two years. Under founder George Hormel's son Jay, the company instituted a guaranteed annual wage, emphasized production quality and labor-management cooperation and, through the Hormel Foundation, which owns 45.6 percent of the company stock, poured money back into Austin.

When in 1978 Hormel told workers that it was going to leave Austin unless it received concessions from them that would enable it to build a modern $100 million plant, the announcement came as a shock. But P-9 was not prepared to resist Hormel's demand. Fearing the loss of their jobs and the devastation of Austin, local members agreed to the conditions Hormel set for its remaining in town. To help build the new plant, the workers agreed to put their incentive pay in an escrow fund that would provide Hormel with a $20 million loan on which the company would not have to begin making payments until the plant was completed. They also agreed to a seven-year no-strike contract and a 20 percent speedup in production at the new plant. What P-9 got in return were job guarantees and a contractual pledge that their wages in the new plant would not be lower than those in the old one.

The average cost to each P-9 worker for the loan to Hormel (to be repaid at 6 percent interest) was $12,000, but in a period of economic instability in the packinghouse industry, the trade-off seemed worth it. In 1981, however, a year before the plant was scheduled to open, Hormel demanded additional concessions from all its workers. This time the company wanted a wage freeze and, in return, promised that there would be no plant closings in 1982. Although by virtue of its 1978 contract P-9 was in a securer position than other Hormel locals, it agreed. The summary of the contract that the U.F.C.W. gave to P-9 declared, "The cost-of-living adjustment which is now in effect will be incorporated into the rates, and there will be no increase or reduction in rates for the balance of the present term of the contract and for the 1982-85 term of the Agreement."

When the new Austin plant opened in 1982, P-9 had every reason to believe that its period of sacrifice was over. The plant was the most efficient in the industry, with machines and robots enabling workers to can 440 Spams a minute and bone 1,600 pork shoulders an hour. By 1984, despite a year of record profits and an admission to *Business Week* that it would have no trouble coming up with $100 million for additional acquisitions, Hormel went back to its work force for more concessions. In October the company announced that it wanted a 23 percent wage cut in all its plants, from $10.69 an hour to $8.25. It cited a "me too" clause in the 1978 contract that allowed it to lower what it paid if there was a change in the national pattern of wages negotiated in the meatpacking industry.

The U.F.C.W. responded by calling on the workers at its eight Hormel plants to strike if a better arrangement could not be reached. A new contract was negotiated under which wages were slashed to $9 an hour (they have since gone up to $10) and benefits were reduced. The U.F.C.W. saw Armour, which Greyhound sold to ConAgra in 1983 and which was threatening to cut wages to $6 an hour, as the priority target, and it did not want to take on a company that was doing better by its workers.

Hormel's demand for further concessions was the last straw for P-9. It made a mockery of the 1978 agreement by which the workers had helped build the new plant, and, worse still, it gave no indication that Hormel was prepared to stop its concessionary spiral. As Guyette would later observe: "If the newest plant in the industry takes a cut in wages, then the other plants are going to say they can't compete. If concessions are going to stop, then they are going to have to stop at the most profitable company with the newest plant." For P-9, which according to the terms of its 1978 contract could not strike in 1984, the ideal solution was one in which all the workers in the Hormel chain joined in opposing concession. But in the absence of such action, P-9 was prepared to go it alone and not hinder a settlement other locals wanted to make. P-9 was convinced that arbitration would support its claim that because of its 1978 and 1981 contracts it did not have to take a cut in wages. That belief proved wrong. In arbitration P-9 learned that the "me too" clause of its 1978 contract prevailed over any agreement it had that wages would be stabilized. P-9 also discovered that the protective language in the U.F.C.W.'s summary of the 1981 contract was not in the final version.

DRAWINGS BY DAVID SHANNON

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO ARE.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although the U.F.C.W. never did mount an organizing drive against ConAgra/Armour, it remained unwilling to move against Hormel, refusing to support the P-9 corporate campaign against First Bank Systems, which holds Hormel stock and is represented on its board of directors. Since that time relations between P-9 and the international have worsened, the quarrel taking up as much of the local's time as the fight with Hormel. The need to go it alone has, however, forced P-9 to be resourceful in ways it might not have been otherwise. Workers and their families have formed a United Support Group, and they not only distribute leaflets at other Hormel plants; they tour the country talking about the Hormel strike.

P-9 has also got around the financial crunch imposed on it by opposition from the U.F.C.W. and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Rogers and the local leaders have developed the Adopt a Local P-9 Family Fund, under which unions friendly to P-9 sponsor a family. The workers have also found wide support in the labor movement, even within the Hormel chain. At the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, an estimated 480 workers have been dismissed for refusing to cross P-9's picket lines. A March rally at United Automobile Workers District 65 headquarters in New York City filled the building to overflowing, and union members from across the country have been showing up on P-9's picket lines in Austin.

Most visible of all is the determination that has developed among P-9 members as a result of being cut off from traditional support. At almost any hour of the day the Austin Labor Center is active. P-9 members often eat there; at night they meet to plan strategy. The center has both the intensity of a combat headquarters and the comfortable familiarity that comes from constant contact among families, union officials and the rank and file. The P-9 strikers believe that they have a sound strategy and are hurting Hormel. Despite the hiring of 600 replacement workers and the estimated 400 P-9 workers who have crossed their local's lines, the Austin plant is not operating at anywhere near normal efficiency. The plant is understaffed (you see it in the empty parking spaces), and, as the company acknowledges, production has not returned to prestrike levels.

When the plant reopened in January, Governor Rudy Perpich called in the National Guard. Now the Guard is gone, and P-9 is able to close down the plant—without using violence—virtually anytime it wants. P-9's most recent strategy combines sit-down tactics from the 1930s and civil disobedience from the 1960s. At 4 in the morning, workers drive out of the Austin Labor Center and head for the Hormel gates. They arrive long before the Austin police and the Mower County sheriff's deputies or the workers on the 6 o'clock shift. They park their cars as close as possible to the Hormel gates and lock the doors. The strikers scheduled to be arrested that day wedge themselves between the cars and the gates. Not until well after 8 do the police and sheriff's deputies arrive in strength, and by the time the process of physically removing strikers is completed, it is at least noon—too late for the early shift to get much work done or for a plant with the technology for killing 750 hogs an hour to make up the lost production time.

For Hormel, the slowdown in production is only the most obvious cost of the strike. As a result of the work stoppage at the Austin plant, the company is paying increased distribution costs, as well as between $600,000 and $1.2 million for a special security force. And by virtue of the brand-name recognition it has worked so hard for, it is also extraordinarily vulnerable to the kind of boycott that the United Farm Workers achieved with California grapes and that Ray Rogers's corporate campaign achieved during the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers strike against J.P. Stevens. Hormel's Spam has a 73 percent share of the canned luncheon meat market. Its Dinty Moore stew has a 70 percent share of the canned stew market.

For P-9 the danger now is that the intraunion bitterness this strike has produced will hinder a solution and encourage Hormel to stiffen its resistance. There is only a 69-cent hourly wage difference between what P-9 was asking when it went out on strike and what other Hormel locals are currently paid. But money is not the only item preventing an agreement. Safety and working conditions have become major issues. P-9's analysis of Hormel's records shows an injury rate 119 percent higher in the new plant than the old. Some of those injuries are minor, but many are not. They include fingers cut off in dangerous power equipment and carpal tunnel syndrome (those who have it lose strength and circulation in their hands, often permanently). P-9 is not going to settle with Hormel unless steps are taken to bring down the Austin injury rate, to restore the fifty-two-week layoff notice guaranteed under its old contract and to insure strikers they will get their jobs back.

As for the U.F.C.W., despite its desire to make sure the packinghouse industry stays organized (according to its figures, the industry is 70 percent unionized), it finds itself in an increasingly sticky situation. P-9 has questioned the U.F.C.W.'s militancy and integrity, and the most obvious vindication of the international's concessionary strategy would be the defeat of P-9 and the replacement of its executive board with workers loyal to the international. The U.F.C.W.'s April 14 move to put P-9 in receivership makes it clear that it no longer believes an accommodation can be reached. However, there remain more than enough reasons for P-9 and the U.F.C.W. to make peace. Given Hormel's history with P-9, its profit picture (its chair was recently

China-the Orient
BANGKOK, HONG KONG, SINGAPORE, KUALA LUMPUR, PENANG
DEPARTS EVERY SUNDAY (MAY/NOV) 13 DAYS $ 1465
PEKING, SHANGHAI, XIAN, GUELIN, HONG KONG AND MORE
DEPARTURES JUNE THROUGH SEPT. 15 DAYS $ 2165
OUR BEST OFFER "TRAVEL & SEMINARS"
PEKING, SHANGHAI, XIAN, NANJING, PLUS 7 DAY SEMINAR
DEPARTURES JUNE THROUGH AUGUST 22 DAYS $ 2295
* MEALS AND TRANS-PACIFIC FLIGHTS INCLUDED
(PHONE) PROGRESSIVE WORLD TOURS (WRITE)
4003 ISLEWOOD DRIVE
DEERFIELD BEACH, FL. 33442
(305) 427-4779 TELEX 441536

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given a $231,000 raise) and the fact that it cannot pick up and move its business overseas, it is an ideal company to strike. The coming months, moreover, will be a perfect time for concerted union action. Most of the Hormel contracts, with the exception of the plants in Ottumwa and in Knoxville, Tennessee, come up between May and September. During this period Hormel will be extremely vulnerable. If a master agreement with a common expiration date could be reached, it would give everyone—rank and file as well as the international—enormous bargaining power in the future. □

BASEBALL'S NEW FAMILY IMAGE

The Owners' Moral Grandstanding

JAMIE KITMAN

It was a nervous scene one night last October: game number six, and the World Series between the St. Louis Cardinals and the Kansas City Royals had unfolded nicely. Predicted to be a nonprescription remedy for insomnia, the series had grown rousing as the underdog Royals battled back from a seemingly insurmountable deficit. Behind three games to two, they had to win that evening to keep their championship hopes alive. Yet, as the ninth inning drew near the score was tied. Late-inning relief specialists were limbering up in the Cards' bullpen. Royals base runners were in scoring position, poised to bust the game open with a swing of the next man's bat. The crowd was quiet and television viewers mesmerized as the heavy-lumber man, Steve Balboni, prepared to step into his office, the batter's box. It was time, naturally, for a commercial interruption.

The moment seemed right for some standard sportsman huckstering. A retired golfer riding a garden tractor around in circles, a former football great talking to his tires—these were distinct possibilities. A light beer commercial was a virtual certainty to follow. Instead, there was the Chicago White Sox pitcher Tom Seaver. Venerable yet baby-faced, and straitlaced as ever after twenty years on the hill, he confided, "Like every family, ours has its problems."

A casual viewer of the fall classic might have wondered just what it was about the Seaver clan that required Tom Terrific to delay, however affably, the game's conclusion. I know I did, as I hurried to reinvigorate the cooler I'd stationed tubeside with another installment of frosty cold ones. But later on, when Cincinnati Reds player-manager Pete Rose appeared on screen to deliver an identical confession as part of a promotion for major league baseball, there could be no doubt. Tom's "family" was baseball and the problem was drug use, what the younger generation calls partying and what Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth calls grounds for requiring drug testing of all major league baseball players.

Rose, the man who last season broke Ty Cobb's all-time record for base hits, may have appeared an unusual spokesman for clean living. The archetypal gritty competitor, the kind of athlete who attained greatness despite a modest natural ability, Rose is also known in baseball circles as a premier exception to the rule that speed-freaked booze hounds never live beyond the age of 40. A perennial .300 hitter, he is remembered for his inexhaustible energy: sprinting to first after drawing a base on balls, racing out to his station on the field at inning's end so that he might take an extra moment of fielding practice. Away from the stadium, the Rose of lore was no less spry, dashing off to get hammered at his favorite cocktail lounge, womanizing to beat the band and generally partying his butt away. An admitted onetime user of methamphetamines, he wasn't called Charlie Hustle for nothing.

Rose is the kind of baseball hero most fans love, a maniac on the diamond and off. True, a small but vocal group of critics has dogged him through the years, but its gripe has been that he's too clean-cut. That an aspersion of this sort could loom over the career of this determined party dog testifies to the durability of the Roger Ramjet media image created for Rose twenty years ago. More important, it tells us something about the psychology of American fans and what they expect of their athletes. It's been lost in the profusion of front-office claptrap and incessant media handwringing that attends each new revelation of drug use by a professional ballplayer. The simple fact is this: fans expect players to party, like any other entertainers, like any other Americans, like themselves. And why shouldn't they? In America, opium (and more widely available substitutes, like cocaine, beer and marijuana) is the religion of the people.

This is not to undercut the validity of the constitutional objections raised to the institutionalized meddling in the private lives of players. It is not to concede the accuracy of the drug tests, about which there are grave doubts. Nor is it to deny the severity of individual athletes' problems, the deleterious effect of drugs on their performance, the uniquely insidious aspects of cocaine compared with other recreational substances, or the tragic aspects of drug use in the society at large. But it is intended to deflate some of the more self-righteous pronouncements of team owners, their mouthpiece, Commissioner Ueberroth, and a growing number of pundits who have argued that the players should be required to sign contracts with mandatory drug-testing clauses because they owe it to the fans.

What the owners mean to say is that the players owe it to the owners, who stand to lose money when high-priced superstars burn out in the early days of multiyear, megabuck contracts. That is a legitimate business concern, but it is not the same concern held by the fan, who views the passing of every player's great days, through drug use, injury or aging, as cause for regret. Habitual cocaine use, like alcoholism, which has long been known in locker rooms, is but one factor in a grandly complex game.

The owners' cloak of altruism is ill fitting from the word

Jamie Kitman is a third-generation Pittsburgh Pirates fan.

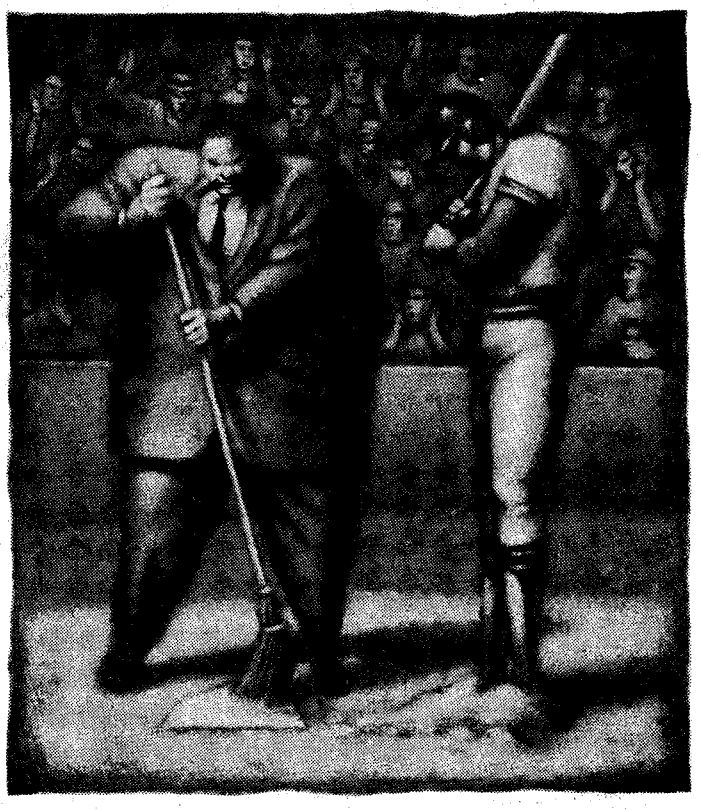
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

go. Commissioner Ueberroth, who calls himself the commissioner of the fans but is frequently reminded that he serves at the pleasure and expense of the owners, will not require testing for amphetamines. Speed enables the tired or injured athlete to play on, which can be dangerous, and it is no less addictive or destructive of the central nervous system than some of the substances for which he now proposes to test.

Rank hypocrisy aside, the millionaire owners are happy to drive any wedge between the players and the fans. Not too popular to start with, the owners haven't fared well in previous run-ins with the Major League Baseball Players Association, from either a public relations or a contractual standpoint. They're counting on the drug issue to put the situation right, to transport them back to a happier past, when paternalism reigned. In such a climate, it is hoped, the owners' real peeve, the size of the players' salaries, will be more warmly received. Their efforts thus far have been less than successful, however.

Fans admire the super abilities of temperate stars, but they are no less impressed by those of athletes with advanced party skills. Indeed, in a drug-addicted society such as ours it's no miracle that monster appetites, from Babe Ruth's to John Riggins's, have been the stuff of legend. What else explains the popularity of light beer commercials featuring athletes who sport graphic-relief road maps in place of noses and beer guts the size of Navy mine sweepers? When it comes to deciding a question as serious as which brand of suds to go the distance with, fans trust the party professional, the major league athlete.

At the root of the public's feelings toward mandatory drug testing is the sense that it isn't right to expect players to do something that the average fan wouldn't do if you paid



him. For, as anyone who has attended an outdoor sporting event in the last twenty or thirty years can attest, fans themselves are partial to partying. The following missive from the desk of Eddie Porreca, of Waltham, Massachusetts, which appeared in the letters column of *The Boston Globe* for August 4, 1985, is a case in point:

> I am a 14-year-old student concerned about marijuana smoking in Fenway Park.
>
> On July 20, a friend and I went to a Red Sox game; our seats were in the right-field bleachers. As the game started many people around us lighted marijuana cigarettes. We don't mind if people smoke marijuana—that's their business, but not in a public place where fathers bring their children. During the third inning, the smoke had overcome us, so we left.
>
> Many young people have tried marijuana by the age of 12, but my friend and I take pride that we have not. How are we going to stay away from it when it is smoked in such a place as Fenway Park? What is America's favorite pastime? Baseball or smoking pot in the bleachers?

The short answer to young Porreca's query, based on the author's tour of leading American ballparks, is, Yes, America's favorite pastime is baseball or smoking pot in the bleachers. The denizens of Fenway's delightful *center*-field bleachers, where I conducted extensive field research during the 1985 season, seem to believe that baseball or drinking beer is the national pastime. A minor regional variation, to be sure, but one that might point the way to Porreca's salvation, assuming he is willing to quit his seat in right field. If, however, he numbers sanctimonious teetotaling among his lesser attributes, he might do well to get used to watching the games at home, alone.

To be fair, another group shares this troubled youth's sentiments about outdoor tippling and smoking: the owners. In recent years, they've engineered a quiet counteroffensive on partying fans that parallels the testing of players for drugs. It, too, is a strategic economic decision masquerading as a heartfelt expression of the owners' commitment to morality and family values. Like the drug testing, it won't win the owners as many friends as they'd like.

Historians will inevitably trace the fall of the Golden Age of Outdoor Partying to the twilight hours of June 4, 1974. On that evening the management of the hapless Cleveland Indians invited the citizens of their fair city to join them at Municipal Stadium, along the shores of Lake Erie, for "10-cent beer night." It was a partial success: the normally deserted park, which locals have dubbed the Mistake by the Lake, was teeming with fans. The 10-cent beers gave the crowd something to cheer about before the first pitch was thrown. The fans were still cheering in the top of the third as they marched on the field to tear up the sod, forcing the Indians to forfeit the game; and management knew it had made another mistake.

Since that fateful night in Cleveland, owners around the country have turned off the spigots. At Fenway Park the crackdown began with the decision to eliminate mobile beer vendors, meaning that people in need of a libation had to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

traverse the hazardous route to the indoor concession stands. When the fans persisted in their ways, for instance vomiting on the warning track in center field in a traditional salute to the visiting team, management chose to limit beer sales at the concession stands to two per customer per trip. But the human spirit is indomitable. One began to see processions—sororities, fraternities, Elks, Moose, nuns, Hadassah field trippers, even whole families—leave their seats en masse and return a few moments later, each member clutching a deuce of frosties.

A less easily circumvented management practice emerged last season, when several parks banned all beer sales after the seventh inning. Now, seven innings would seem to be enough time to get pretty tubular, but consider the fan who finds herself high atop the right-field bleachers as a pitching duel with the Texas Strangers wends its way into the fifteenth scoreless inning. Experiencing tomorrow's hangover today, even the most good-natured fan gets cranky.

In New Jersey the football Giants are reportedly contemplating the final solution: banning the sale of alcoholic beverages at Meadowlands stadium. A sober football fan is, of course, a contradiction in terms, but haven't things got out of hand when a group of hard-boiled capitalists even considers refusing to accept money for beer?

As long as ballparks continue to purvey overpriced sodas, Cracker Jacks and hot dogs of suspicious pedigree, we can discount the possibility that the owners have been motivated by a sudden concern for the public health or by a loss of enthusiasm for the moneymaking arts. We can similarly dispose of the suggestion that they act merely as caretakers of the tender young minds that admire ballplayers. If that were the case, the owners would be voluntarily testing themselves for drugs, setting a better example for children than they do now, since those children are much more likely to enter business when they grow up than professional sports.

When pressed about their decision to dry out the ballparks, owners offer two financial justifications. First, they say, public boozing and drug taking hurt attendance. Certainly the expression of an elderly evangelical Christian who's just had reefer smoke blown in her face by an East Boston teen-ager wearing an Ozzie Osborne "Too Drunk to Fuck" T-shirt is a sight to behold. But the figures belie that concern. Both the American and the National leagues set all-time attendance marks in 1985, with 46,824,379 tickets sold, about 300,000 more than in 1983, the previous record year.

Owners have also mentioned their fear of liability for hooliganism and accidents caused by drunken patrons. Although superficially appealing, that argument is just a fashionable smokescreen, signifying that organized baseball has added its name to the growing list of industries that support the insurance cartel's tort reform movement in the hope of limiting their potential liability. But it's hard to believe that there isn't any money to be made in selling watered-down beer at $2.75 a pop to 46,824,379 people over a seven-month season.

The real reason for the owners' sudden conversion is that they're out to rehabilitate their image. Popular memories of their long years of aiding and abetting drunkenness for profit and their inattention to public marijuana smoking at the stadiums hardly help them in their effort to stake out the moral high ground against the players. So they tidy up the ballparks and talk about family values and the players' drug-taking habits at every turn. But although drug testing may have permanently descended on baseball, the owners may wait a long time for the fans' respect. While the press supports the owners in their born-again ways, most fans are scratching their heads. If the owners really wanted to speak the fans' language they would say something simple yet eloquent, like, This Bud's for you. □

Musical Chairs

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

party of prosperity and growth. For precisely those reasons, Likud clings desperately to rotation. And for similar reasons Peres tried to pry finance away from the Likud last week.

Even in the midst of the Cabinet crisis, no one took the Prime Minister at his word. During past Cabinet disputes, Peres's almost ritual reaffirmation of his commitment to carry out the rotation was usually made conditional on Likud's living up to the rest of the coalition agreement, as interpreted by Labor. At least this time his quiet tone contrasted sharply with the tumult at last month's convention of Herut, the largest party in the Likud bloc.

Herut is divided between an establishment faction, based around Shamir and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens, and factions led by Housing Minister David Levy and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon. The balance of power is precarious, and the convention was in such turmoil that its participants could not get beyond procedural matters to discuss even one substantive issue. The leadership fight prevented a formal merger between Herut and its nervous Likud partner, the Liberal Party. Levy and Sharon fear that in a united Likud the Liberals, led by Modai, will throw their support behind Shamir and Arens.

Peres is now at the height of his popularity. Likud has never been more fractious. It cannot unite behind any one policy and cannot reach a compromise with Peres over the currently outstanding issues. With each Likud leader proclaiming the superiority of his own brand of right-wing politics, Peres's room to maneuver has increased.

However, with Jordan's King Hussein blocked by the Palestine Liberation Organization on one side and by the Syrians on the other, and with relations with Egypt still cool, the received wisdom was that lacking a breakthrough

David Twersky's articles on Israeli political affairs have appeared in The Jerusalem Post, Partisan Review, Near East Report, In These Times, Dissent, London Review of Books, Jewish Frontier *and other journals. He is the editor of* Spectrum, *the Israeli labor movement monthly.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the peace process, Peres would not risk dissolving the government, and thus rotation was unavoidable. But the diplomatic stalemate did not put a halt to Israel's domestic political struggle.

The recently concluded battle of the budget is instructive. Israel's fiscal year runs from April 1 to March 31, and in the past budget battles have triggered more than one coalition clash. In fact, the last Likud government, headed by Shamir, fell in late March 1984 as a result of the budget debate. When money talks, everybody walks: the budget provides the perfect occasion for political posturing.

In the latest example of this, Labor's Knesset faction lurched to the left and attacked the budget, saying it did not allocate enough to development towns and to ailing industries and gave too much to West Bank settlements and other right-wing favorites. Finance Minister Modai dismissed Labor's recommendations as inflationary and a threat to the government's economic plan. When the Labor members threatened to oppose the budget on the floor of the Knesset, Peres warned Likud that if it didn't pass, the government would fall.

Peres himself was pushing for extraordinary government aid to several important and financially troubled industrial and agricultural complexes linked to Labor through the Histadrut labor federation and the kibbutz and moshav collective agricultural movements. Ultimately, the Prime Minister used the Labor rebellion and the threat that it would precipitate a government crisis to force Likud to agree to his demands for the emergency relief. Modai had opposed the subsidies as being wasteful.

The budget debate insured that the chronic instability of the national unity government, aggravated by inherent policy tensions and by the approaching October deadline, would continue despite the breakdown of negotiations between King Hussein and the P.L.O. Peres had gambled heavily on Hussein's success, straining his political credit at home to acquire diplomatic bargaining chips for use in the anticipated negotiations. He accepted Hanna Siniora, editor of the Arabic-language daily *Al-Fajr* and a strong supporter of Yasir Arafat, as a potential member of a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. That gesture may look tame from the United States, but in Israel the P.L.O. tag can be fatal to politicians fearful of a forced exit, stage left. Similarly, Peres's declaration at the Labor convention on April 8 "recognizing the Palestinian people," with its hint of more to come, was not only timed to help U.S. Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Richard Murphy, who renewed his diplomatic mission last week; it was a calculated political risk.

The Jordanian King's decision to break off talks with the P.L.O. after the failure of efforts by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Morocco's King Hassan to mediate between Hussein and Arafat was a setback for Peres. He and Labor need diplomatic movement on the Palestinian issue; the status quo favors the right. The collapse of hopes for negotiations has channeled the dove/hawk discourse in a new direction. With the end of the Camp David process and in the absence of any opportunity in the near future to create a framework for talks, Labor and Likud have divided into radical and conservative factions. For different reasons, conservatives in both parties generally support the continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Labor's conservatives favor holding on to the territories and oppose proposals by the majority in the party to devolve power to the Palestinians. Likud's conservative faction is committed to Shamir's accession to power under the national unity agreement, which explicitly preserves the status quo in the occupied territories.

Ariel Sharon, whose stature in the party was enhanced at the Herut convention, is the quintessential Likud radical on occupation policy. He advocates an either/or policy for the territories: either Egypt and Jordan negotiate with Israel on the basis of the Camp David accords, which Likud interprets as giving the Palestinians limited autonomy, or Israel annexes the territories and puts an end to diplomatic speculation about their final disposition. Sharon has attacked Peres's regional economic proposal (a so-called Middle East Marshall Plan) as the "Marshal Peres" plan, echoing the November resolution by the extremist Council of Jewish Settlements, which likened an Israeli prime minister ready

yet every time Congress has voted down contra aid, Israel has increased its involvement with the contras. Since the late 70s Israel's presence in Central America has followed the same seesaw pattern, supplying Guatemala, El Salvador, Somoza and his heirs, the contras, whatever the US denies.

Israeli Foreign Affairs, an independent monthly report, provides fully documented coverage of Israel's diplomatic and military activities beyond the Middle East for a growing number of readers determined to keep US policy from getting away from us.

$20* brings you a year of **Israeli Foreign Affairs.** Or send $2 for a sample issue to Israeli Foreign Affairs, 5825 Telegraph Avenue, #34E, Oakland, CA 94609.

*Institutions $35. Overseas add $6, $10 air mail. Back issues available.

EDUCATORS: USE THE NATION IN YOUR CLASSROOM. SPECIAL LOW RATES. CALL STEPHEN SOULE (212) 242-8400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to "surrender parts of the homeland" to Marshal Pétain, and threatened a civil war.

How much this has to do with Sharon's temperament and how much with playing to the galleries is hard to say. After all, he voted for Camp David, and Shamir and Arens, whose cool exteriors mask an unyielding commitment to annexation, opposed it. But Sharon's blueprint for regaining power requires him to speak out against the prevailing consensus in his party and appeal to the constituents of the extreme right-wing parties, which have been sapping support from Likud. His climb back to party and national respectability does not bode well for either Likud or the country. Sharon's re-emergence has given Labor further pause: Could rotation mean restoring Sharon to an important policy-making position?

Labor's movement toward a policy of devolving authority over day-to-day municipal affairs to the West Bank Palestinians was cut short by the murder of Nablus Mayor Zafer el-Masri by Syrian-backed Palestinian assassins. During el-Masri's all too brief tenure Nablus became a reluctant showcase for Peres's devolution plan. El-Masri served as visible proof that cooperation and compromise were possible on the ground, beneath the barrage of rhetoric and physical violence that eventually eliminated him. Although Peres told the Cabinet that the assassination would not deter the government from proceeding with its policy, the murder led to wholesale withdrawals of Palestinian candidates for mayoral appointments in other West Bank towns.

Israeli politics remain firmly democratic—and full of possibilities. The volcanic eruption in Herut at the March conclave created new opportunities for Labor. Shamir's strongest card is the rotation: neither of his rivals wants to be blamed for costing Likud the prime ministry and forcing the party into opposition. But Shamir may now become front man for a Likud dominated by the new politics of David Levy and Ariel Sharon.

Of all Likud's stress lines, Herut's inability to close ranks and agree on the distribution of power in its own party and on the mathematics of a full merger with the Liberals are the most vulnerable to outside pressure. When Peres returned from his visit with George Shultz in Washington the first week of April, he read the results of two comforting opinion polls. But he also read Finance Minister Modai's attacks on him for excessive travel abroad and for being an economic ignoramus. Likud offered up its glass jaw, and Peres called for Modai to step down, triggering the Cabinet crisis.

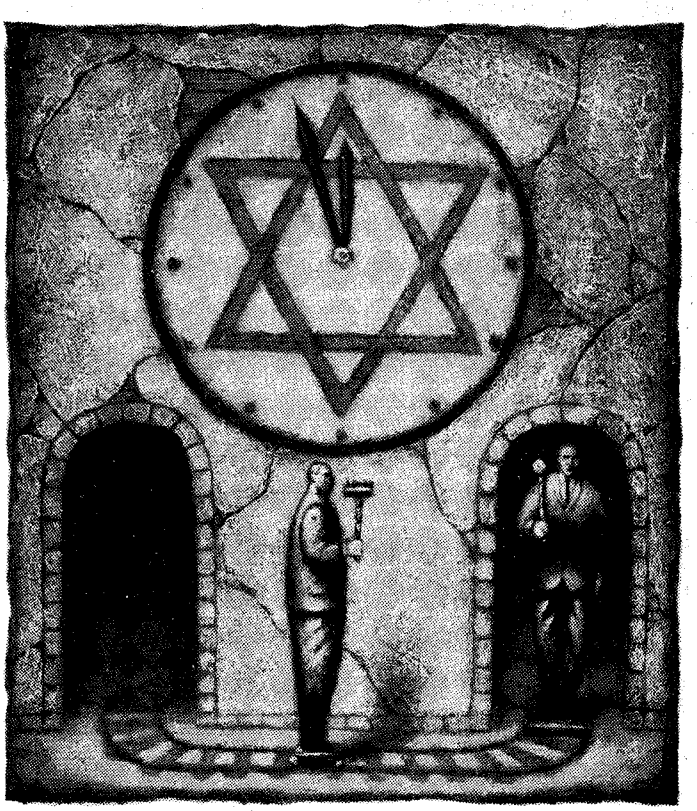
In the end, Labor's hopes for breaking up the rotation agreement were outdistanced by events. It seems that Peres wants to let Likud blow itself out of the water before October rather than risk his newly won popularity by forcing a break. Instead he tried to guarantee that, should rotation take place, he would become Finance Minister rather than Foreign Minister, giving Labor power over economic policy in addition to defense, which is already guaranteed it in the rotation agreement. Shamir, willing to pay almost any price to insure the rotation, consented but could not deliver his party. Between Levy, who wants finance for himself, and the Liberals, who refused to surrender "their" portfolio, the deal fell through.

Peres could probably win a Knesset majority mandating early elections if, as is likely, all opposition parties from the extreme left to the extreme right vote with the Labor bloc. But the polls offer no assurance that in the aftermath of such elections Labor and the bloc of parties in the center and democratic left that gravitate around it would emerge much stronger in the Knesset than they are now. And the key religious parties, which hold the balance of power, remain committed to the present arrangement.

If Peres cannot break the political stalemate, it is unlikely that he will consider more radical proposals to the P.L.O. to break the diplomatic logjam. An Israeli initiative toward the P.L.O. that goes beyond the flexibility Peres has already shown is unlikely unless there is a shift in Palestinian politics.

Israeli public opinion has certainly proved to be more elastic on the question than one could have anticipated from the 1984 election results. Peace is good politics in Israel: negotiations—the real thing and not just diplomatic shadow-dancing—would give Labor a serious boost. Unfortunately, given the parameters in the Arab world, a new sign of P.L.O. moderation is considered highly unlikely. At their recent meeting in Washington, however, Shultz told Peres not to give up hope for diplomatic movement by Jordan.

Even with the latest compromise there is still no guarantee of coalition quietude. A renewed American commitment to the peace process, an agreement with Egypt on the disputed Taba enclave, a serious ice-breaking move from Hussein—taken separately or together—could cause another pre-rotation crisis. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT • ADVERTISEMENT

Politics From A Different Position

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Part II — The Second Fantasy

Just as Christian Europe and America had two acid tests in their relations toward the people called Russians and the land called Russia after the first holocaust (World War I) and the people called Soviets and the land called the Soviet Union after the second holocaust (World War II), both of which acid tests they failed, so did Arab Islam have two acid tests in their relations toward the peoples called Jews and the land called Palestine after the first holocaust (World War I) and the peoples called Israelis and the land called Israel after the second holocaust (World War II). They too failed both acid tests. Humanity now has two strikes against it. The third strike will be *it*, for man has within himself the seeds for his own destruction. Is there hope? Does mankind have a future?

At 07:00, December 9, 1917 the last of the Turkish troops left Jerusalem, and on December 11, 1st Viscount Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby, field marshall and the last British leader of mounted cavalry entered Jerusalem, and ended 401 years of Turkish rule over Palestine. On that day the Arabs living in Palestine stood on the threshold of history. On one side lay cooperation, harmony and civilization which would lead to economic recovery, freedom, health and happiness, and on the other side lay destruction. The Arabs chose the latter.

The Arabs of Palestine, the Arabs of the Middle East all knew or should have known that eventually many Jews throughout the world would want to return to the land of their ancestors and rebuild their homeland. History, sociology, biology, psychology were all clear on that subject. If there were any doubts about this fact, they were poignantly dispelled when during the Thirties the German people in Germany became psychotic and the governments of England, France, Italy were struck with blindness and cerebral palsy. At that time the Palestinian Arabs should have proclaimed to all the Jews of the world, "Come you Jews, you poor, you homeless, tired masses, persecuted in all the lands yearning to breathe free. We open our doors and lift our arms of welcome. Come let us work together and together we will build a land flowing with milk and honey," (Apologies to Emma Lazarus.) The people in *our* country did that, not only did they open the doors to the Jews but to all homeless, poor and tired masses. The result? We became the greatest, strongest, and richest nation in the world.

But no! The Arabs chose to kill instead. And indeed they killed. In return they were killed, and in the process of killing lost their land. Now many of them are dispersed in many lands, living in poverty, squalor, sickness, having been betrayed by their leaders who directed them to kill and run. Their leaders, not having learned their lesson, think they can do it over again. They think that by killing and running they will regain what they lost by killing and running.

Among the killers is a group which calls itself the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO for short. The declared objective of this organization is to drive the Israelis into the sea and occupy their land. This is their goal. This is their *raison d'etre*. They have said this over and over again. Not only do they, the leaders and members of the organization, say this, they act on it. They kill wherever and whenever they can and then run.

Our government, the United States of America, does not want to negotiate with the PLO because the PLO will not say that Israel has the right to exist. Our government states its position not with tongue in cheek. It states it seriously! Our government thinks that it really matters *what* the PLO says. Hard to believe, but so it is. To our government, it appears, it is important what the the PLO says. It seems that blindness and cerebral palsy are not limited to European governments.

Negotiate! Negotiate what? With whom? Does our government seriously believe that the Israelis will repeat the mistake of Menahem Begin and give up land for promises, promises made by killers? Jews have too often signed their own death warrants. But they say never again! Not only is the survival of Israel important to the Jews, but it is important to the rest of mankind, for the destruction of Israel will lead to the destruction of the whole of mankind, a fact that as yet not many people understand.

PLO: The wealthiest and largest organization group of killer-runners in the world. Their income from investments alone is about a billion dollars a year, not to mention the income from other sources, the amount of which is not traceable. Its immense financial holdings are estimated to be more than five billion dollars. Their members may be found all over the world, but most especially in Algeria, Europe, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen and South Yemen. They train in military fashion for military action. They amass military hardware of various kinds which they obtain from our country, the Soviet Union, England, France and from other countries, north, south, east and west. With that amount of money what munition producers would refuse to sell them?

There are less than five million, but considerably

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than four million Arabs of Palestinian origin in the world. About one and a half million live on the East Bank of Jordan; about one million, two hundred thousand live on the West Bank and the Gaza strip; about seven hundred thousand live in Israel and about six hundred thousand live in refugee camps, of which mostly are in Lebanon and Syria. These figures are estimates; there are no exact demographic figures. It is the six hundred thousand who live in poverty, squalor, sickness. What is the PLO doing with their billions of dollars for their countrymen in those camps? What could they do?

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was the brainchild of the British. It was born in 1946, two years before the Arab-Israeli war. The land comprises about 36,909 square miles and was then occupied mostly by Bedouins numbering about two hundred thousand. The West Bank which is now occupied by Israel constitutes about 2,270 square miles or about six percent of the land. If there is going to be negotiation, it should be negotiation between the Palestinian Arabs and the present government of Jordan, for that land belongs to the Palestinians as much as it does to the Hashemite Arabs because all Arabs are brothers who lived on that land. Originally their ancestors were Bedouins, Arab nomads who worshiped star gods, sacred stones and idols and their highest loyalty was to their tribe or clan, claiming descent from a common ancestor. They achieved an oral literature, a form of poetry of extraordinary quality which was transmitted to all the tribes and passed on from generation to generation and they all roamed the lands called Arabia. These people were the Arabs. The name Jordan now used indicating the land is a modern invention. The name Jordan does not belong to the land, it belongs to the river, and that name goes back to the 13th century B.C.

It is true that most of the land now called Jordan is arid and mountainous. So what? Look what the Israelis did with their arid and mountainous land. The Palestinians can do the same if they want to. I am sure that the Israelis would be willing to help make a home and happy life for the hundreds of thousands of refugees. So would our country be willing to help. Will the PLO use their billions for that purpose? No, they won't. Why? Because they have a religion. It is known as jihad.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Part III — The Color Green
will appear in a subsequent issue.

Sex From A Different Position

CYRUS BASS

If you find **POLITICS FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION** interesting, you will find **SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION** more interesting.

SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION by Cyrus Bass is a most unusual book unique in publishing history. The title is eisegetical. It immediately makes one think of pornography. But the book is everything *except* that. The book is about sex but it is not a sex book by any means. It is a book about human life: the way we think, the way we behave, the way we love and hate, the way we build and destroy and it explains the whys—the whys we love, hate, kill, have wars. The explanations are different from what has been written about human behavior by others. Why then the title? The author wants to demonstrate that when we hear the word sex immediately most of us think of the physical act. But the book is not about sex in the physical sense. The book is literally about sex from a different position.

The author, a practicing clinical psychologist for many years, charts an orientation on how to live in health and happiness which is fundamentally different from what we have been led to believe about sickness and health. His theories about illness in general and about cancer and schizophrenia in particular, if proven to be correct, may well revolutionize the practice of medicine. Dr. Bass is not an eclectic, not a traditionalist. The book is not a compendium of what experts say. There are no footnotes. His writing on medicine, psychology, religion, politics, law, must be read.

The adjacent article which is *not* part of the book illustrates the style and scope of his writings.

We urge you to order SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION without delay. The book is a large (8½ x 11), soft cover volume of 310 pages, set in ITC Bookman type which is especially easy on the eyes, but the text is most challenging to the mind. The author chose the type style. In addition to being a clinical psychologist, he is also an eye doctor as well as a specialist in forensic and antitrust law, having received his law degree in 1957. The price of the book is $11.00, plus $1.50 postage and handling for each copy.

PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATES, INC.
3601 West Devon Avenue, Suite 108
Chicago, Illinois 60659

I enclose ☐ check ☐ Money Order in the amount of $ _____

Please rush _____ copy (copies) of

SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION by Cyrus Bass.

Name _____
(Please Print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 4 weeks for delivery.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXCHANGE.

(*Continued From Page 570*)
to be valid Vidal must demonstrate that Podhoretz's reasons for being a neoconservative are suspect, and he must prove that raising support for Israel is the real (albeit hidden) reason. He didn't even try to do this. There are no facts, no evidence, no logical arguments—just the bald accusation. Since Podhoretz's neoconservatism extends in so many directions, since most American Zionists aren't neoconservatives and since many non-Jewish conservatives support Israel for their own reasons (which I suspect frightens neo-anti-Semites the most), Vidal's argument is weak.

I do not like neoconservatism and I do not like Norman Podhoretz. I don't like him, as a Jew, as an American, as a Zionist and as a leftist. But I'd rather see his published ideas criticized fairly than to see him accused of treason without evidence, especially when this accusation extends to me. I don't consider myself a traitor and I shudder at the thought that my being Jewish makes me suspect. I am used to finding *The Nation* challenging, provocative and informative. I am not used to finding it racist and abusive. Vidal owes me—and my fellow Jews—an apology. *Steven L. Rubenstein*

I note again, with interest, that any reference to race is "racism." The notion that in "educated" American quarters all races are simply wonderful and only crazies are aware of skin tones is fatuous to a dangerous degree. I confess that I sometimes forget when I write for my "educated" countrymen that they don't know any history at all about any country, including our own. I tried to teach some history in these pages (see "Requiem for the American Empire," January 11). I see now that I might just as well have been writing in Greek (Greek-Americans will take this as a slur and I suggest that they write not to me but to the Turkish Ambassador, Bill Buckley). We are not loved, the so-called white race. We have committed many crimes, including genocide, in many lands. These are remembered. Power has now shifted from us to the Asiatics (shall I list the languages, countries, tribes, cultures?). Steven L. Rubenstein does have a point when he says that I ought to have spelled out in greater detail the nature of the shift of certain American Jews to the far—even fascist—American right in the interest of support for Israel, a favored nation in the eyes of many fanatic anti-Semites; this is a subject of comic—not to mention tragic—possibilities. Anyway, my shorthand was perfectly clear to Rubenstein, and my argument is not weak but strong; hence, the hysterical tone of these letters.

ANTI-SEMITIC RAVINGS

New York City
As indicated by my affiliation, I am not a disinterested observer in the debate over our country's politics and culture. Although there probably are few issues on which we would agree, I pay close attention to *The Nation* and I consider it perhaps the key weather vane of the left's position in the intelligent, legitimate argument over the future of the United States and the world. In short, I treat it as a respected antagonist.

But *The Nation* occasionally steps over the line of intelligent, legitimate debate, crossing into a region of paranoia, superstition and hatred. Nowhere is that more apparent than in the anti-Semitic ravings of Gore Vidal. Many, many of the magazine's readers will not forget that article. Its tone, when not sophomoric ("Poddy"? Come on) is either simplistic ("pro-Israel lobbyists" have made "common cause with our lunatic right"—tell that to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee) or, worst of all, Jew-hating: Midge Decter "isn't much interested in what the *goyim* were up to before Ellis Island"; Norman Podhoretz and Decter form an "Israeli Fifth Column Division"; Vidal doesn't "much like" their country, "which is Israel" (these last two quotations, of course, calling up the old ghost of dual loyalty—or to put it in less sophisticated terms, You can't trust the Jews—a time-honored anti-Semitic slur); and "in the Middle East another predatory people is busy stealing other people's land in the name of an alien theocracy." Enough. I'm sure the editors are well aware of these and other intellectual crimes committed in the article.

I'm disgusted by Vidal and shocked that his article was allowed to appear in *The Nation*. Is that how *The Nation* feels about the Jews? About Israel? About the magazine's intellectual counterparts on the right? Would it take things to such lengths to discredit them? Let's face it, what is really going on in that article? Mr. and Mrs. Podhoretz are identified as untrustworthy Jews in the pay of Israel. Their loyalty to the United States is brought into question. They are personally insulted. Their religion is covered by Vidal's spittle, and their political convictions are distorted and simplified and dragged through the shit of Vidal's mind.

Not a distinguished moment in the life of *The Nation*. *Micah Morrison*
Deputy Director, Committee for the Free World

Micah Morrison takes the position that Israel has committed no crimes against anyone and that anyone who denies this is an anti-Semite. So be it. After all, he is Deputy Director of the Committee for the Free World, which has shown no interest in freedom for the otherworldly Palestinian Arabs. Incidentally, an excellent article might be written on how the interpretation of U.S. Federal law relating to dual nationality was changed in 1967, and why, and by whom. Question: What happens if the national interest of Israel is exactly opposite that of the United States? Under which flag does the Israeli-American serve?

SNIDE POLEMICS

New York City
The Nation does its readers a disservice in publishing the hyperbole of Gore Vidal under the pretext of a fair-game attack on Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter.

Vidal's insults and polemics against his ideological enemies give him no license for exhibiting a snide anti-Jewishness. Nor should his verbal cleverness and wit be allowed to obscure his muddying of the waters about the true nature of American support for Israel, the legitimate role of American Jews in foreign policy advocacy and the rejection by a vast majority of American Jews of the program of the far right.

Vidal's characterization of the American Jewish Committee as a far-right organization is ridiculous. Not only is the A.J.C. widely known as being independent on issues relating to Israel and strongly pro–human rights around the world; it also carries out a broad human relations program domestically and supports such policies as affirmative action goals and timetables, liberal immigration, greater aid to education, women's rights and civil rights for gays. It strongly opposes attempts to weaken separation of church and state and is in the forefront of opposing extremism. The A.J.C. publishes two independently edited magazines—*Commentary*, which is conservative, and *Present Tense*, which is liberal.

Vidal should get his facts right. His attitudes on Jews could use some correction as well. *Irving M. Levine*
American Jewish Committee

Now that I have Irving M. Levine on the phone, as it were, can't you see as a Jewish fellow traveler (lagging more and more behind, I must confess) that the Podhoretzes are doing more to arouse the essential anti-Semitism of the American people than anyone since Father Coughlin? I confess to a degree of hyperbole when I identified the American Jewish Committee as having gone as far to the right, domestically, as their employee Podhoretz. Perhaps it would be wiser to publish only one magazine. After all, the A.J.C. was founded to combat *anti-Semitism, a very good thing to do.*

A CRITICAL SUPPORTER

Washington
In the course of the last couple of weeks, I have heard some ugly mumblings about how anti-Semitic and anti-Israel Gore Vidal's splendid piece on empire lovers was. Then, this morning, I received an invitation addressed to supporters of *The Nation* from the managing editor of *Commentary* to say

(*Continued on Page 596*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Marginalia

JAMES GILBERT.

PRODIGAL SONS: The New York Intellectuals and Their World. *By Alexander Bloom. Oxford University Press. 461 pp. $24.95.*

About eighteen years ago, when I published *Writers and Partisans*, a history of *Partisan Review*, a reviewer chided me for retelling a too familiar story. I wonder how he would react to the recent outpouring of memoirs and biographies by and about the magazine's principals that almost constitutes a *Partisan Review* memory industry. These recollections range from cocktail party annotations to serious and enlightening works on an important literary/political movement. But we have not seen the end of them; at least four new histories of the movement will be published shortly, and Alexander Bloom's *Prodigal Sons* is only the first of these. Surely this subject is now the new burnt-over district of American cultural history.

Bloom's book makes a serious effort to isolate what is most important about the rise of the New York intellectuals. He provides a provocative chronology of the cultural politics of those intellectuals who gathered around *P.R.*, *Dissent*, *Commentary* and other journals of the movement. In some respects this is a very successful work and at least part of the story emerges here with far greater clarity than it has before.

Bloom's thesis, briefly stated, is that the New York intellectuals were by and large the products of New York City immigrant ghettos, and that their ethnic origins determined in one fashion or another their attitudes and ambitions. As radicals, Marxists, Communists or Trotskyists in the 1930s, they celebrated their marginality but denied its source, identifying instead with what they imagined to be an international political avant-garde. Their tastes in culture were also cosmopolitan and anchored in European modernism. By the beginning of World War II most had become fervent anticommunists. By the end of the war they had rediscovered their Jewish roots. As Bloom depicts it, their alienation ended with the success of their determined effort to carve out an elite status for themselves. Thus, the radical intelligentsia became a literary elite. The gyroscope of their success, he continues, was liberal anticommunism, which enabled them to travel in two directions at once: toward reconciliation with American society and toward recognition and celebration of their Jewish heritage. By the mid-1950s, the group exercised a kind of hegemony over American politics and prose.

With any flight so high, there is the inevitable rough descent, and Bloom traces the shocks that broke up the "family" in the 1960s and 1970s. It was not all tempers and personalities, of course, although individual quirks played a role. More important were the disorienting effect of the New Left, the death of principal figures Phillip Rahv and Lionel Trilling and the departure of key intellectuals such as Sidney Hook and Norman Podhoretz for points right. Bloom ends his chronology by describing the disintegration of this group.

Although far more subtle, this argument is reminiscent of Podhoretz's thesis in *Making It*. In fact, Podhoretz figures as prominently as anyone in Bloom's book, and his political silhouette seems to fit several of the other figures in the group as well. The other model seems to be Lionel Trilling, who was far more cautious about his ethnic origins and his ambitions. There are a number of interesting sketches and stories here, and several individuals, especially Trilling, Podhoretz, Hook, Alfred Kazin and Irving Howe, emerge with particular clarity. Others, like Dwight MacDonald, Edmund Wilson and, surprisingly, Rahv and William Phillips, are less well delineated. The roles of nonliterary figures such as historian Richard Hofstadter and sociologist Daniel Bell are nicely amplified. In other words, this is a book with an interesting, if debatable, thesis and plenty of new material to consider.

What are we to conclude from Bloom's strong emphasis on politics? It might seem to prove the old cliché that right and left will ultimately meet, since so many of the main characters here moved from one political extreme to the other. But that conclusion is superficial and based on a flimsy premise. Furthermore, Bloom argues that much of what looks conservative in the 1970s and 1980s is only a restatement of 1950s liberal anticommunism. But what of the author's more serious point: that this is the story of ambitions fulfilled, in which the switch from left to right marks a shortcut to prominence? Undoubtedly, this contains an element of truth, which is borne out in the collective record of the group. Yet it is inaccurate to assume that results reveal intentions and that the New York intellectuals consciously used liberal anticommunism to set themselves up as an establishment. Such an argument misses the point, or at least distorts it, because it neglects the equally (perhaps more) important story of *P.R.*'s changing attitudes toward culture.

Bloom has certainly got part of the story right. The Jewishness, or "marginality," as Irving Howe has put it, of this group of immigrant and second-generation intellectuals is a key to understanding their alienation and radicalism in the 1930s and 1940s. But marginality had as much influence in determining their cultural tastes, and Bloom underestimates that. If communism was something of an obsession, it was by no means the only one. There is also the history of the things that the New York intellectuals understood best: literature and culture.

The slighted side of their story is the history of literary modernism, a kind of international sensibility which the *P.R.* editors popularized. Together with refugee intellectuals from Europe, they helped create a special interpretation of modern culture which became immensely important in New York after World War II. Their success had a decisive effect on American high culture, criticism and publishing in the 1940s and 1950s. It helped prepare the way for the acceptance of psychoanalysis, existentialism and a variety of postwar sociological and cultural theories. They introduced or championed a particular group of modern writers, from Joyce to Silone, Orwell and Sartre. In art they supported the burgeoning movement of Abstract Expressionism. Their tastes and enthusiasms were enormously persuasive, and if we forget this we simply miss

James Gilbert's books include Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America *(John Wiley) and* A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s *(Oxford University Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUGUST 17, 1985

On August 17, UFCW Local P-9 at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota went on strike in the wake of unilateral wage cuts and a murderous injury rate. How has P-9 been able to hold out for 7 months in the face of the National Guard a powerful, cash-rich corporation? The answers are all found in a fifteen minute home video directed by Academy Award nominee Pam Yates. Through interviews, music, and action-packed footage, *We're Not Gonna Take It* tells how P-9's fight against concessions has become a rallying point for millions of workers. Send $20 (postage paid) to National Rank & File Against Concessions, Dept. N-1, c/o USWA Local 7263, 312 21st Street, Newport MN 55055. Format is 1/2" VHS.

"This video tells the story of our strike far better than I ever could."—Jim Guyette, President, Local P-9

JUSTICE UNDER MEESE

The Right's Grab for Your Rights

By 1988 the Reagan Administration will have appointed more than 50 percent of the Federal judiciary. And, Attorney General Meese publicly embraces a constitutional philosophy that implies a dangerous realignment of the judicial system in such areas as civil rights, immigration, anti-trust, environmental and regulatory standards, government secrecy, and—particularly—civil liberties.

Justice Watch is a quarterly newsletter, published by The Nation Institute, which monitors these developments and proposes alternative policies.

For a complimentary issue, mail this coupon to **Justice Watch, 72 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10011.**

Please send me a complimentary issue of **Justice Watch.**

NAME _____

OCCUPATION _____

ADDRESS _____

_____STATE_____ZIP _____

what mattered to them and what was important about them.

In this realm too their origins were crucial, for their cultural ideas also evoked a certain marginality. By and large their heroes were not Americans, or, if they were, they were generally not literary figures but fellow critics. The canon they regularly invoked—Joyce, Kafka, Gide, Silone, Orwell, Dostoyevsky and the expatriot Henry James—constituted an international "intelligentsia," a term that has never made much sense in the American context except during those years.

Thus, by the mid-1950s, the New York intellectuals had developed political and cultural attitudes that had a powerful influence on American attitudes toward culture. When they made their peace with American society, they also redefined American civilization in their own image. What they found, they changed; and what they valued, many other American intellectuals came to value. This was an extraordinary achievement, whatever one might conclude about its results. Secondly, when they arrived at this elevated position, they did not necessarily relinquish their marginality; they simply convinced others to cherish it.

The crucial 1952 *Partisan Review* symposium "Our Country and Our Culture" illustrates this point. In the opening statement Rahv and Phillips laid out their terms for peace with American civilization. In the polarized cold war world, they chose the West, while acknowledging some of its shortcomings. Perhaps more important, they argued, despite certain misgivings, that a writer could thrive in American civilization. But they refused to embrace all of American culture, especially popular culture. Here are two samples of their position: "The artist and intellectual who wants to be part of American life is faced with a mass culture which makes him feel that he is still outside looking in," and "We cannot evade the fact that America is a nation where at the same time cultural freedom is promised and mass culture produced." In choosing American society, the New York intellectuals thus redefined what was acceptable about American culture in terms of their own tastes and their continuing estrangement from essential elements of American civilization.

At issue here was the distance, not easily bridged, between a Jewish immigrant background and three centuries of Protestant genteel culture. In fact, one of the defining characteristics of the New York intellectuals throughout the 1950s and 1960s was their continuing sense of alienation, which, curiously, many other Americans came to share. This stance had been obvious from the beginning: from raising the red flag of proletarian literature against the literary establishment to opposing the Popular Front; from rejecting mass culture to distaste for the New Left (which was not Stalinist but Protestant evangelical in its roots), there is more than a thread of continuity. Indeed, the constancy of these oppositions demonstrates the intellectuals' negative appraisal of much in the American genteel and realist tradition. Perhaps Podhoretz summarized their position best when, in describing the 1940s, he said, "I did not think of culture as anything *national*, and in any case American culture had no real status in the eyes of anyone."

If the New York intellectuals' ambivalence about American culture prompted them to try to reorient its values, should we not also expect them to have attempted to redefine political liberalism? Bloom is quite right to emphasize the importance of liberal anticommunism, but he does not recognize the degree to which this postwar attitude changed and narrowed the long traditions of American liberalism. This was not a group of liberals who valued the complex history of liberalism—the populist impulse of the late nineteenth century, the apocalyptic moralism of the Victorian social evangelicals, the technocratic planning of the New Deal. Their liberalism proceeded from another tradition, rooted in pre-World War I socialism and labor union activism. In differentiating themselves from other liberal strains, they were, in effect, sweeping the decks of American history.

One can see this revisionism in the works of Richard Hofstadter. He advanced arguments that seriously undermined two earlier liberal traditions: the Populist and the Progressive. In the Populist movement he found the sour curds of anti-Semitism. Among the Progressives he discovered a group of elite New Englanders conscious of their own declining status, who used reform to reassert social control. In a sense, he dismissed both groups (farmers and urban reformers) from the liberal tradition. What remained was a liberalism associated with immigrants, socialists and labor unions. For the New York in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tellectuals, liberalism inevitably had to be measured by assessments of the Soviet Union, by questions of socialist purity. Furthermore, as a group deeply devoted to issues of international culture, they had what might be described as a literary lens for looking at politics. They defined themselves through events charged with symbolic meaning—the Hitler-Stalin pact or the Moscow trials—through metaphor, style and stance.

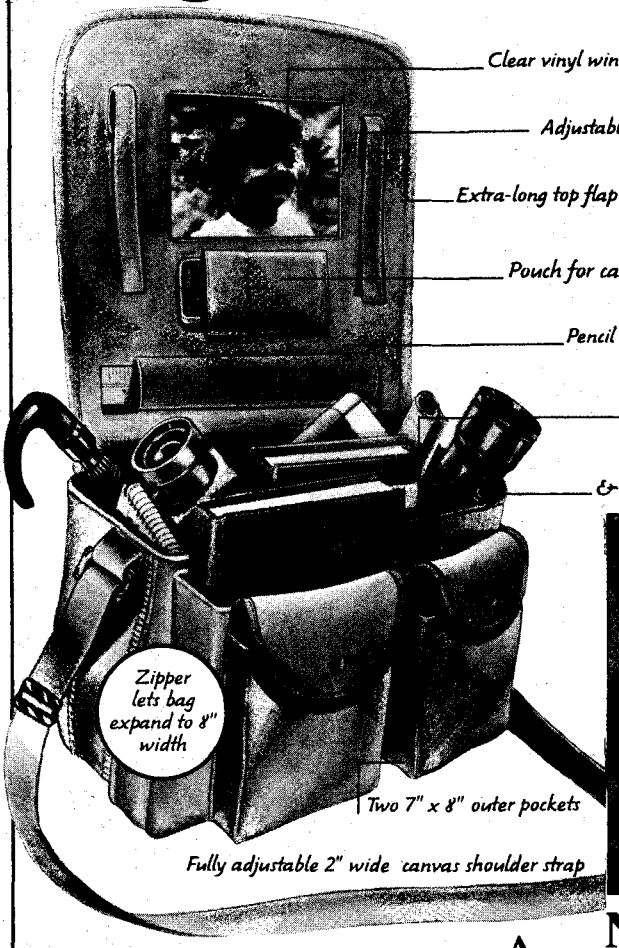
This is a crucial point, because the New York intellectuals had a profound effect on redefining liberalism after World War II. That their personal concerns and styles should loom large in their politics is natural; that they should influence the nation is a more complex problem. Their legacy has been a strand of ideological and polemical liberalism that floats strangely free of some of its historical origins. Just as cosmopolitan modernism explained the diaspora of intellectuals from their native cultures, so liberalism came to be defined by abstractions that related to an intensely felt internationalism. The lack of ground of these political theories in time, place and practical politics is striking.

By insisting on anticommunism as a prelude to political dialogue, the New York intellectuals framed debate in a manner that had little meaning outside their own community, for communism was never, even in the bleakest moments of the Depression or in the heyday of the Popular Front, a meaningful alternative for American society. The real debate in American society was and continues to be between conservatives and liberals, not between liberals and what lies to the left. Thus a question of these intellectuals' own experience in the 1930s became the measure of politics in the 1950s.

What, then, should be concluded about this group of intellectuals? As Bloom argues, their immigrant origins are crucial to understanding them, as are their ambitions. But much more remains to be elaborated. How did they redirect American culture? What accounts for their extraordinary success? Why were they accepted? What is the place of their ideas and tastes in American cultural history? What is their relationship to earlier exiled intellectuals who felt their own alienation from American culture just as deeply? What was their impact on American letters?

When more is said on these matters, perhaps we shall see even more clearly the contributions of this group of in-

Scandia: The Shoulder Bag That Has It All



There's simply no other shoulder bag that's as roomy, lightweight, versatile, stylish, durable—and affordable—as the Scandia.

It Holds Everything...

The Scandia is intelligently designed to hold all the books, paper, equipment, clothes, and sundries you could ever need to carry. The sturdy canvas Scandia measures 15½" across, 11" deep, and 4" wide, and has six inner and outer pockets, plus an inside zipper that lets it expand to a full 8" in width. And, no matter how much you pack into the Scandia, it will still be trim enough to carry comfortably.

It Wears Well...

As anyone who's ever owned a Scandia will testify, this bag lasts for years. Its high-quality canvas is water-resistant, color-fast, and scuff-proof. The heavy duty zippers, piping, and snaps are also well-made and very durable. And the Scandia will stay in style for years; its handsome, casual look goes as well with a business suit as it does with jeans and a sweater.

It's a Remarkable Bargain...

If you've shopped around for high-quality shoulder bags, briefcases, and purses, you're probably aware that most of these items cost at least $50. But, because we have made a mass purchase of Scandia bags, we are able to sell them at the remarkable low price of $29.95 each. Surely, that's a tiny price for a big capacity smart-looking bag that will last for years to come.

The Scandia is available in six colors: Gray, Black, Dark Blue, Khaki, Brown and Mauve.

A $59.95 Value **NOW ONLY $29.95**

FOR FAST SERVICE **1-800-228-3535** IN NEBRASKA 1-800-642-9606
Credit Card Customers Call Toll Free - 24 hours - 7 days a week

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873
Dept. A231, 126 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

30-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

AVAILABLE BY MAIL ONLY

QTY.	COLOR	ITEM#	TOTAL
	Grey	1377019	
	Black	1377027	
	Brown	1377035	
	Khaki	1377043	
	Mauve	1377050	
	Dk. Blue	1377068	
	N.Y./N.J. residents add sales tax		
	Add $2.50 ship. and ins. for ea. bag		
	Subtotal		
	TOTAL PAYMENT		

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Charge to ☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard ☐ AMEX
Account# _____ Exp. _____
Signature _____

The World's Largest Bookstore

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tellectuals, who created a brilliant season of American letters but whose achievement, like all such movements, rested on what now appears to be a parochial vision. And so, my reviewer of eighteen years ago will have to endure still more words on *Partisan Review*, although if they are as insightful as Bloom's, the rest of us will benefit enormously from them. □

All in the Family

ELISABETH YOUNG-BRUEHL

MELANIE KLEIN: Her World and Her Work. *By Phyllis Grosskurth. Alfred A. Knopf. 515 pp. $25.*

Sigmund Freud mapped the terrain of mental life in many ways. He made a topographical map, then added a structural one; he found a "royal road" to the unconscious, ancient tracks in fairy tales and myths, post roads in psychopathological symptoms. As his discoveries and revisions accumulated, Freud took care to name his maps: this is descriptive, this dynamic, this economic, this structural, this systematic and so forth.

Among Freud's co-workers and heirs, there have been systematizers, who have hoped to coordinate all the maps, and innovators. The innovators have been of two sorts: those reformers who focused on the parts of Freud's work that were least developed and adjusted his ideas to accommodate their discoveries; and those revolutionaries who turned a part of his work into a new whole. Freud himself pointed the way for the reformers by noting that clinical work with children would bring new insights; that his own views on feminine psychology were insufficient; that the territory of the psychoses might yield to clinical exploration; that physiology might illuminate the biological foundations of mental life; that anthropology and archeology might confirm or contradict his historico-cultural speculations. But Freud also tried to protect psychoanalysis from those revolutionary innovators bent on reductionism, those *simplificateurs terribles* who wanted a single key to all the mysteries.

In the psychoanalytic movement's complex, repetitive history of reductionist efforts followed by schisms, there is one anomalous case: that of Melanie Klein, who started work as a child analyst in the 1920s in Berlin and then moved to England, where she posed challenge after challenge to Freud's science and ruled over "the Kleinians" until her death in 1960. To this day, British analysts and their colleagues abroad debate whether Melanie Klein's work constitutes an extension of Freud's or a revolution against it. In the history of psychoanalytic institutions, the British Psycho-Analytical Society is also an anomaly: ever since 1938, when the Freud family emigrated, the Society has housed Freudians, Kleinians and a nonaligned group without schism.

Phyllis Grosskurth's *Melanie Klein: Her World and Her Work*, the first full-scale biography of Klein and the first study of her unpublished papers and correspondence, is an important contribution to the consideration of Klein's place in the history of psychoanalysis. The great merit of the biography is that the portrait of Klein is drawn with unflinching attention to the dark, tormented sides of her personality and behavior. Grosskurth writes admiringly of Klein's brilliance and her achievements, but she never whitewashes her character. The portrait of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, on the other hand, is monotone, despite its thorough documentation and lively vignettes of leading personalities. This is because the Freudian camp of the society is not really present. Freud and his followers, especially Anna Freud and her work as a child analyst, are portrayed as inflexible, unadventurous, limited to the shallower reaches of psychic life. A basic contrast governs the biography: Melanie Klein, so well acquainted with the night, explored the "darker and deeper levels" while the Freudians remained in psychic limbo. Klein's work is presented as ultradepth depth psychology.

In the first half of the book, Grosskurth moves with fine critical intelligence between Klein's unfinished, unpublished autobiography and the story of her life as it emerges from the letters Klein preserved. The Klein family is right out of Strindberg: a remote, elderly father who died when Melanie was eighteen; a passive, favored sister; a tubercular sister who died young; a wild, beloved brother who may have killed himself when Melanie was twenty; and an overbearing, neurotic mother. That persecution anxiety is the central theme of Klein's work seems inevitable. Her opportunistic marriage to an upwardly mobile man she did not love and her relations with their three complicated children, including a son who died in a mountaineering accident and a daughter who became an analyst and one of Klein's most vehement enemies, are discussed in great detail. Grosskurth also reveals the important fact that Klein began her analytic practice with her own children, who were the subjects of her first clinical papers.

Grosskurth's portrait of Klein, particularly her frank treatment of Klein's analyses of her own children, raises the vexing question first posed by Freud's self-analysis and crucial to biographical studies of psychoanalysts: To what extent are the theories and practices of psychoanalysts reflections of their own personalities? Grosskurth seems to think that the answer is, Entirely. For example, she suggests:

> If we assume that Melanie Klein wrote out of her deep personal experience, it is tenable that Anna Freud [in her own words] "lived in the lives of other people, instead of having an experience of her own." Anna Freud was an expositor of her father's ideas, but only of those ideas that could be scrutinized in clearly lit, well-ventilated places. Sin, cruelty, suffering she shunned. The witches of the night ride on broomsticks and converse with the powers of darkness in Klein's work, but a Viennese spinster creates a tidy, reasonable world by vigorously sweeping away the cobwebs.

Neither Klein's work nor Anna Freud's nor the problems of "subjectivity" in psychoanalytic research are illuminated by such a caricature. Fortunately, Grosskurth does not indulge in such kitsch psychoanalyzing throughout. But her tendency to identify with Klein as the analyst who "really lived" does present problems as the story unfolds.

Prompted by Anna Freud's criticisms, Klein clarified and systematized her early papers into *The Psycho-Analysis of Children* (1932), her first major contribution, crucial for the emergence of object-relations theory in England. This book marked the end of the first and, in retrospect, least controversial phase of her work. Grosskurth's presentation of

Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, the author of Hannah Arendt: For Love of the World *(Yale University Press), is at work on a biography of Anna Freud.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Klein's later theories is often less clear than her discussion of the early work, for two reasons. First, she has to trace their development in the midst of a whirlwind of controversy and intrigue: the theoretical tale is overshadowed by a veritable soap opera of power struggles and personality clashes in the British society. And second, because she assumes without argument that Klein was creating "an extension and development" of Freud's work and not a revolution against it, Grosskurth does not keep Freud's theories or Anna Freud's child analytic work (as opposed to her political stance) in the picture for contrast. Starting with the chapter on the British society's "Controversial Discussions" of 1942-44, the biography becomes fiercely partisan.

This is a great shame, for the partisanship blunts the key psychoanalytic issues. Klein proposed in her later work that a primordial battle between the life instinct and the death instinct, each represented by fantasies, is waged in the psyche of an infant from birth. The ego is not, as Freud held, a structure that develops in response to the id, the superego and external reality. It is present from birth as the locus for conflicting fantasies about the infant's first object, the mother's breast. Birth is experienced as an attack, and the persecution anxiety an infant feels is attached to the breast, which is experienced as hostile—the "bad breast." But the life instinct also attaches in fantasy to the "good breast." Both breasts are introjected or internally represented; good and bad experiences are split. The first three months of life are lived in the "paranoid-schizoid position," in fear of the bad breast. In normal development, the original position is overcome as good experiences accumulate. The "depressive position" supervenes, however, as the infant becomes aware of its mother as a whole person and fears that its destructiveness will harm her. The infant's guilt and despair spur it to make reparations to the mother fantasized within; if these fall short, manic defenses deny the frightening psychic realities.

In Klein's theory, the developmental phases Freud had schematized—oral, anal, phallic, genital—are all present at once in the first year. The central dynamic of psychic life is not libidinal satisfaction and frustration; illness arises out of unconquered, anxious aggressivity. And it is assumed that the two "positions," called "psychotic," are

March 22 - June 8
PORTLAND MUSEUM OF ART
PORTLAND, MAINE
04101

JOHN HULTBERG

RECENT PAINTINGS

April 10 - May 10
ANITA SHAPOLSKY GALLERY
99 SPRING STREET / NYC 10012
212-334-9755
Formerly Arbitrage Gallery

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:
Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

Speak French like a diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who.

Now you can learn to speak French just as these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Basic French Course.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far *the most effective way* to learn French at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The Basic French Course consists of a series of cassettes and an accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in French!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "pattern drill" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Introductory Basic French Course comes in two parts, each shipped in handsome library binders. Part A introduces the simpler forms of the language and a basic vocabulary. Part B presents more complex structures and additional vocabulary. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Basic French, Part A.** 12 cassettes (15 hr.), and 194-p. text, $135.
☐ **Basic French, Part B.** 18 cassettes (25 hr.), and 290-p. text, $159.

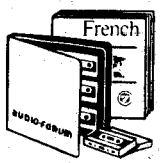
(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order — or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's French course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn French, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

120 courses in 41 other languages also available. Write for free catalog. Our 12th year.



AUDIO-FORUM®

Audio-Forum
Room 156
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

predominant in every infant, normal or pathological. Freud's distinction between neurotic and psychotic symptom formations has disappeared. The purpose of analysis is not to interpret defenses and make conscious the unconscious—for Freud's topographical map of the unconscious, preconscious and conscious has also virtually been erased. A Kleinian analysis offers a child direct interpretation of its fantasies, which is supposed to alleviate depressive anxiety. But no British Freudian comes forth in Grosskurth's biography to help make these differences, or their clinical implications, clear.

Phyllis Grosskurth's biography marks the beginning of a time when the second generation of European analysts will be given the kind of scrutiny that Freud and his contemporaries have received since the 1940s. This next wave of inquiry should help nonanalysts understand better what psychoanalysis, now, as Auden said, a "climate of opinion," means for us. But Phyllis Grosskurth's book is not very satisfying on this level. If our infant psychic life is paranoid-schizoid and depressive, what does this imply about us? What does it say about how we should raise children, educate children, legislate for their welfare? How do environmental conditions matter for an infant? Grosskurth tells us that Klein's vision was "tragic," and completely opposed to "the tradition of nineteenth-century meliorism, where man [sic] can learn to be master of his fate." What would it mean for us to adopt such a vision? The biography does not ask these questions or consider their implications. It does present Melanie Klein's world and work, but entirely from within. □

Star Turns

JAY PARINI

ORRERY. *By Richard Kenney. Atheneum. 108 pp. $17.50. Paper $10.95.*

In 1983, James Merrill selected Richard Kenney's first volume, *The Evolution of the Flightless Bird*, for the Yale Series of Younger Poets. The poems in that book were widely admired for their fine intelligence. Too many poets in the post-Romantic tradition find intelligence—by which I mean a gift for complicated thought—embarrassing. Though this has been less true in the past few years, much of the poetry in leading periodicals still aspires to the condition of needlepoint; instead of writing what Wallace Stevens called "poems of the mind / In the act of finding what will suffice," poets make intricate patterns in language, studding the design with verbal sequins. Superficially, Kenney's style moves in this direction: the surface is dense, full of unusual words like "geomantic," "syrinx," "saccade" and "azimuths." But Kenney's first book was more than decorative; it was intellectually and spiritually ambitious.

Perhaps because of this ambition, the poems of *The Evolution of the Flightless Bird* are difficult, at times bedeviled by an obscurity that derives not from an attempt at modernity but from the desire to give full expression to an original, if not idiosyncratic, viewpoint. Though Kenney's *Flightless Bird* remains one of the best first books of recent years, it does not prepare us for *Orrery*—a dazzling, book-length "poem of the mind." Kenney's complex, deeply felt thought braids itself into language before our eyes.

The book is organized around a central metaphor—the orrery of the title. An orrery is an apparatus designed to represent the motion of the solar system. Kenney has in mind the intricate devices constructed by inventors like David Rittenhouse, who in the eighteenth century constructed an orrery capable of duplicating the motions and phases of the entire solar system. A photograph of the Rittenhouse orrery adorns the cover of the book, and the poet himself devotes a charming author's note to this particular machine, which, despite "Einstein's later depredations against the sensible order of nature," still runs according to Copernican and Newtonian principles.

Kenney's book is also constructed to represent the sensible order of nature as he finds it. *Orrery* begins and ends with mated sequences, "Hours" and "Physics." The first is a crown of fourteen sonnets linked by four-line riddles. The sonnets establish the scene—a cider mill and apple farm in Vermont where Kenney spent a year. The cider press itself becomes a kind of orrery: "The press has turned a century," he says, "or nearly, here." The farm itself encloses the cider mill, becoming an orrery within an orrery:

> A simple clockwork
> world, this farm, where evening stars
> and drifting quarks
> spin lazily across the dark according to
> the Laws—If Laws aren't blown to
> tesserae.

Here, as throughout *Orrery*, Kenney radiates a nostalgia for the unified physical and moral world seemingly "blown to tesserae" by the sense of relativity that governs contemporary life. His *Orrery* attempts to track the wayward planets, to rediscover the underlying, sensible (in both senses of that word) system of the universe, to reconstruct the mosaic represented by disparate images, the "tesserae" of daily experience. The proposition that "memory is perpendicular to time" recurs through the book's three sequences, which in effect chart the parameters of this intriguing formula.

Unlike most poets, Kenney knows a lot about science. His final sequence, "Physics," takes the material of "Hours" and reworks it, relating the same themes to science and scientific language in a series of lovely two-beat poems that interlock with breathtaking ingenuity, referring constantly to the crown of sonnets that begins the volume. Both sequences refer forward and backward to the central series, "Apples," where Kenney traces the highlights of a year that becomes emblematic of all other years. "Apples" is an orrery itself, a mechanism that mirrors the seasons, charting their rise and fall through harvest, fall, death, kindling and rebirth. Each poem is a small cog in the larger mechanism, though many of the poems, such as "Harvest," also stand on their own:

> Bounty, bounty!
> Silver corn husks cracked
> down by fat raccoons,
> pumpkins squat amidst
> the sift and fall of
> seeds,
> racks of acorn squash
> collapsed,
> tomatoes split and leaking in the boggy tangle
> of their
> vines,
> apples bruising in their
> bins,

Jay Parini is a poet and novelist. His new novel, The Patch Boys, *will be published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston next fall.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the half Harvest Moon
itself
a tipped snifter—
I incline my chin.

Kenney plucks the right chords, making *Orrery* the next best thing to a flawless performance. □

FILMS.

MARCIA PALLY

Las Madres: The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo

In the final minutes of Susana Muñoz and Lourdes Portillo's documentary, photographs of women from all over the world pass across the screen. Women with long braids and coarsely woven colored skirts, women in straw sandals, women in heels. Women from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Lebanon, all grieving and rallying against state terror.

With this procession of desperation, the pity and fear one feels listening to the stories of Argentina's mothers are inevitably enlarged. The breadth of the butchery isn't news. It's just a horror we indulge in for a moment. And this is *Las Madres*'s most manipulative gesture, which we forgive because the rest of the film is so dignified—and besides, cinema is meant to play our emotions. Interviews with five of the mothers are interspersed with accounts of recent Argentine history and with official-speak assurances that that everything is being done to locate . . .

In 1973, the military government which had ousted Juan Perón and his wife Evita eighteen years earlier was forced to hold national elections. Perón became President, promised to extend his reformist policies and died a year later. His third wife, Isabel, succeeded him, but was unable to keep the extreme rightists in her government from gaining sway. Economic decline, along with government corruption and repression, led to rioting and state violence. In November 1974, Perón declared a state of emergency, paving the way for the army to take control. Early in 1976, Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla assumed power.

Marcia Pally writes on the arts for Film Comment *and other publications.*

In the nine years of military rule, up to 30,000 people, mostly young, disappeared into torture chambers, concentration camps and mass graves. Videla and his myrmidons claimed that the *desaparecidos* were subversives and guerrillas. The victims' families knew that most were not. One mother tells the camera that her son was picked up for building a day-care center in one of the city's slums; another explains that her daughter, a historian, was targeted for daring to write about contemporary politics. If these young people *were* subversives, the women point out, they deserved trials, not cattle prods.

Long before Jacobo Timerman was snatched from his detention center by international outcry in 1979, even before Amnesty International's revelatory 1976 report, fourteen women showed up in the Plaza de Mayo in front of the presidential palace, risking the fate of their children. (Several suffered it, were arrested and tortured by the military and then, unaccountably, released.) "We didn't even know what we wanted," one mother said—except, perhaps, to seduce a public anesthetized with news and sensationalism. As a woman tells a reporter in the film's opening sequence, "You're our last chance."

Indeed. As the numbers of mothers grew, so did their enterprise. They went to the church but were dismissed. They approached the rabbinate and again were turned away, in spite of reports of anti-Semitism in the concentration camps—a redundancy of grotesque proportions. They continued to march each Thursday in their white kerchiefs. And finally, they got the attention of the press.

Las Madres, winner of six international film awards and an Oscar nomination, is less of a tearjerker and more informative than its fictional compatriot, *The Official Story*. But the two films share a purpose. The crisis isn't over, they both say, though Argentina has a civilian government and most people would like to forget the bad old days. *The Official Story* focuses on the children born in detention centers and adopted by childless couples with connections. *Las Madres* extends a more political appeal. The mothers want the army's records and they want justice.

Perversely, the military kept a file for each person tortured and then microfilmed it. Many believe that these films are still held by army intelligence since, as one lawyer puts it, "They're always preparing for the future." So

LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR!

Nation T-shirts are now available in either le nouveau red or le basic black. Both T-shirts are 100 percent cotton with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "Since 1865" on the back.

Cost **$8.95*** each, postpaid.

Special discount for les bulk orders of 3 or more, $7.95 each.

Delivery in two weeks.

Please send me ____ red T-shirts in the following sizes __S, __M, __L, __XL.

Please send me ____ black T-shirts in the following sizes __S, __M, __L, __XL.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Send orders to: The Nation, Box RN, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

*New York residents add appropriate sales tax. Foreign orders add 33 percent. Checks/money orders payable to The Nation.

NR8616

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

THE BERKSHIRE FORUM WEEKEND

MAY 2 TO 4

Victor Goode in a no-holds-barred discussion, How to Turn This Country Around.

Write or Phone: Berkshire Forum, RD 1, Stephentown, NY 12168. (518) 733-5497

AMERICAN ATHEISTS
16TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION

Speakers include: Madalyn Murray O'Hair, John M. Allegro and Bill Baird

FRIDAY TO SUNDAY, APRIL 18 TO 20

Somerset Hilton, Somerset, New Jersey

Pre-registration $50, including luncheon.

For information write: American Atheist Convention, Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

WHAT'S HAPPENING?

Films on Contemporary Social and Political Issues.

Masters of Disaster—black inner-city kids train to become chess champions; **Frederick Douglass, an American Life**; and **Booker T. Washington, the Life and Legacy.**

THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 3 AND 6:30 PM

The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street, New York City

Museum admission is on a pay-what-you-wish basis after 5pm on Thursday.

100 YEARS OF
LABOR UNION STRUGGLE

Dramatic musical presentation of labor songs and history commemorating the centennial of the Haymarket Incident, May Day and the struggle for the 8-hour day. Based on Pete Seeger and Bob Reiser's book, Carry It On.

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 8 PM
Martin Luther King, Jr., High School
122 Amsterdam Avenue near Lincoln Center
New York City

Tickets: $10. Unemployed, seniors, students $5.

Tickets available at the door; write 100th Anniversary Committee, S.S.E.U. Local 371, 817 Broadway, New York, NY 10003, or call (212) 533-6515 or (212) 598-7754 for advance ticket sales.

CLASS ASPECTS OF SOVIET-TYPE ECONOMIES

Richard D. Wolff and **Stephen Resnick** co-directors of the Association for Economic and Social Analysis at the University of Massachusetts.

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 4 TO 6 PM

CUNY Graduate Center, Room 1700
33 W. 42nd Street, New York City

UNDERSTANDING CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION: THE CASE OF GORBACHEV

Stephen F. Cohen, Princeton; **Carolyn Eisenberg**, Columbia; and **Lynn Turgeon**, Hofstra.

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 7:30 TO 9:30 PM

CUNY Graduate Center, Room 207

Both events sponsored by the Research Group on Socialism and Democracy.

To place your event call
(212) 242-8400, ext. 26

far, the present government has tried only nine officers from the military regime. The mothers want the rest brought to court, and they want to know what happened to their kids: "A new generation has grown up which will soon be as old as our children were. We must protect them from dictatorship by not letting them forget."

So the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, believing knowledge will defeat savagery, must become archivists and publicists of barbarism. The film is squarely behind them, but the push for more disclosures forces viewers up against a sickening reality. Memory and knowledge don't always protect. All those who document atrocities hope that their work will prevent a repetition. But the painstaking records of the Holocaust didn't rouse Argentina's Jews against Videla, though many of them are refugees from Germany. Amnesty International's report was respected and ignored. Jimmy Carter's human rights campaign saved Jacobo Timerman, but he was famous.

Yet ignorance is surely worse. Perhaps the merit of *Las Madres* is that it provokes skepticism even about its heroines, and suggests the question: What do you do when knowledge isn't enough? □

EXCHANGE.

(*Continued From Page 588*)

something about that essay. I prefer to comment in *The Nation*, so here it is.

I have always believed that it is possible to be an enduring friend of Jewish people and a supporter of the security and continued existence of the state of Israel while, at the same time, opposing the cold war and, in its name, the continued dangerous militarization of the Middle East. I believe the best way to support the security of Israel and to pursue peace in the region is to curb the urgent instinct of the Reagan Administration and its neoconservative supporters to clothe it (and every other foreign policy issue) in the garments of East-West confrontation, thus escalating it beyond manageable proportions. It was that instinct and those views that I took Vidal's article to be attacking; not American Jews, not Jews generally, not the state of Israel.

Scoundrels have many last refuges. One is to attack as anti-Semitic any criticism of the policies of any given government of Israel or of any supporters of Israel, no matter how frothing those supporters may be. If, for example, the pandering ravings of Director of Central Intelligence William Casey to the recent AIPAC convention attacking Mikhail Gorbachev personally for ratcheting up tensions in the region demonstrate friendship for Jews and for Israel, God help Jews and God help Israel. An important task, it seems to me, is to draw East-West heat out of the Middle East superheat (no mean feat), not to inject it.

As I have said in other places, before I was 17 I was against McCarthyism in any form, for the First Amendment, against special help for the oil industry, and for the state of Israel; and now that I am past 50, I still hold those views. I also believe, as Vidal apparently does, that one can criticize an Israeli government policy or one advocated by a supporter of Israel as being both dangerous to peace and to Israel's security without being either anti-Israel or anti-Semitic.

Besides, Poddy really is a silly billy.

Roger Wilkins

EDITORS' NOTE

The Nation is committed to the survival of the state of Israel, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the principles of human rights and civil liberties and the prospect of a peaceful resolution of the conflicts that beset the Middle East. In the past few years we have run a series of articles from a variety of perspectives aimed at breaking the intellectual impasse that has hindered debate on the region. Most recently, Uri Avneri, a Jewish Israeli, and Hanna Siniora, a Palestinian residing in East Jerusalem, set forth a plan for getting the peace process back on track [see "A Middle East Peace Is Possible," April 5].

By violating the taboo that forbids discussion of the relationship of the American Jewish community to the state of Israel, by couching his arguments in the intentionally provocative idiom of irony and by concentrating his fire on two personal adversaries Gore Vidal has given birth to a controversy that, although shrouded in acrimony, could with luck have the virtue of prompting people to debate and thus define the limits of respectable opinion on the matter of America and Israel. It is a sad fact of journalism that the more judicious and scholarly articles, such as the one referred to above, rarely elicit the kinds of responses that can help frame this debate. Our hope is that the name-calling that dominates the exchange above and the letters that will appear in next week's issue will, in the weeks ahead, give way to a freewheeling dialogue.

Some of the letters illustrate another sad fact: when a Gentile criticizes Israel or raises fundamental questions about its connection to American Jewry he or she is often said to be anti-Semitic; when a Jew does so he or she is said to be self-hating. Given the overheated emotions that inevitably surround core issues of identity, such ugly accusations, while understandable in view of Vidal's provocative framing of the issue, are misdirected—irony should not be read literally—and must not be permitted to divert attention from the real questions raised.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT DESIRED

NATION EMPLOYEE looking for own place in Manhattan or Brooklyn. Call Ted Jin at (212) 242-8400.

NEW IN TOWN. Quiet, responsible Nation interns seek moderately priced share or sublet. Temporary housing O.K. Send any information to The Nation, Box EJS, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, or contact Emily Sack (212) 242-8400.

APARTMENT CRISIS!

The Nation's associate publisher most recent casualty

My home in Greenwich Village has been taken over by new owner. Would appreciate any leads for an apartment—studio or single—preferably in the Village but would consider anything on the East Coast. Call David Parker at The Nation, (212) 242-8400.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

CREDIT REPAIR—Do your own. Details: S.C.A. 3941-B South Bristol #346, Dept. N, Santa Ana, CA 92704.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living, and community work. Monthly entry dates.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 853 Broadway, Room 1105, New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-1197.

THIS YEAR 81 PERCENT of Costa Ricans voted in lively, honest elections. Experience this exceptional democracy and improve your Spanish ($1.50 per hour instruction). Write: Centro Cultural, Apartado 1489, San Jose, Costa Rica.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Apply now for 1986 sessions. Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in Book 4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

CHESS-GAMBIT—Your board and pieces. 27 cards and instruction sheet. Lets you play your own game but adds an element of chance. One card can shift the balance of power. Send $9.95 check or money order to: Gambetto, Ltd., Box 5935, Chicago, IL 60680. Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery. Illinois residents add 8 percent sales tax.

INSURANCE

RWP/SHAFFER ASSOCIATES
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
718-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

NATION CASES AND BINDERS

Organize and protect your back issues of The Nation. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).

Cases $6.95, 3 for $20, 6 for $36.
Binders $8.50, 3 for $24.75, 6 for $48.

Send order to: Jesse Jones Industries, Box 5120, Dept. The Nation, Philadelphia, PA 19141.
Allow 4 to 6 weeks delivery.
Foreign orders add $2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency.

MISCELLANEOUS

HANDWRITING ANALYZED. $5. Surprisingly accurate. Prompt response. J. Swanson, Pasadena, CA 91102. Money-back guarantee.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with The Nation? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

Euthanasia
Let Me Die Before I Wake
by Derek Humphry
Practical advice to the dying about accelerating the end.
In bookstores/$10.
$6 plus $1.50 shipping when ordered from
The Hemlock Society
POB 66218 L.A.CA 90066

ORGANIZATIONS

TEACHER UNITY: time to try again to merge N.E.A. and A.F.T. Send $5 for more information to David Selden, Temporary Chair, National Committee for Teacher Unity, 1403 Sutherland Avenue, Kalamazoo, MI 49007.

PERSONALS

A little Madness in the Spring
Is wholesome even for the King.
—Emily Dickinson

Would a personal ad be such wholesome madness? Yes. And to assist we offer a spring discount. Pay for an ad to run twice and the third run is free. (Letters must be postmarked by May 15.)

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS
A Nation box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $5 charge.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles, 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

ART LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Unattached fine-arts lovers get acquainted. Nationwide. Write ALX, Box 265, Bensalem, PA 19020.

THIS NOT-UNACCEPTABLE, sometime(s) delectable/Lady of mid-estate/Seeks easily-knowable, westwardly go-able/Fiftyish-sixtyish mate. Box 700432, San Jose, CA 95170.

PROGRESSIVE NURSE, 31, seeks (nonsmoking) man under 40 with social conscience, in New York City. Nation Box 58.

WASHINGTON, D.C. Appealing Jewish woman, 35, seeks similarly aged male intellectual activist who is tender-hearted, witty and psychologically astute, to share good deeds and good times. Nation Box 60.

FIFTY FEMALE Kochloeffel seeks Scrabble-playing, music-loving dinner companion. Nation Box 62.

SEND REPLIES TO:
Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Capp Street Foundation, nonendowed, progressive, nonprofit. Programs include fiscal sponsorship of 150 U.S. organizations, technical assistance and a Central America office. Strong administrative and fund-raising skills. Overall responsibility for $300,000 operating budget, 6-person staff. Send resume and personal statement of interest to: Executive Director Search Committee, 211 Gough Street, 3rd floor, San Francisco, CA 94102. Women and minorities urged to apply. Deadline May 19.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

Engineers, Technicians, Businesspeople, Computer Professionals, Mechanics, etc.,
NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!
Volunteers are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Trips leave every month. Please contact:
tecNICA, Dept. N, 2727 College Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94705 415-848-0292

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE. The Southern Poverty Law Center, dedicated to advancing the rights of poor people and minorities, is seeking a research associate to help staff lawyers develop and investigate cases. Long and often irregular hours, some travel. College degree or equivalent experience. Send resume, list of three references and writing sample to: Dennis Sweet, Box 2087, Montgomery, AL 36102.

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,040-$59230 per year. Now hiring. Call (805) 687-6000 ext. R-3596 for current federal list.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

WORLD PRESS WATCH. A weekly review of economic, military and political news, views and issues. Six months $15; year $25. Box 4177, Lantana, FL 33462.

SOCIALIST STANDARD. Official journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and World Socialist Party–Ireland: $8.50/12 issues. WORLD SOCIALIST–International Journal of the World Socialist Movement: $2.50/twice yearly. World Socialist Party–U.S., Box 405, Boston, MA 02272.

WAR ON MILK by Food & Drug Administration. $4. M.C.I.C. Box 12861, ST. Paul, MN 55112.

PUBLICATIONS

OFARI'S BI-MONTHLY: "The Delusion of Black Progress." An expose of the myth that blacks have made it. $1.50. Box 2368, Inglewood, CA 90305.

FREE ANARCHIST CATALOG, Soil of Liberty. To order write Box 7056-N, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

STOP SMOKING through psychoanalytic insight into hidden needs smoking satisfies. Alternative satisfactions suggested. $3. R. Weiss, 677 Wrightwood, Chicago, IL 60614

Nation Special Issues

Catch up on the reading you missed.

1985 Special Issues: "Reflections on a Glass House: The U.N. at 40," "The Selling of Miss Liberty," "The Education Wars" and "Many Bhopals: Technology Out of Control," "Beyond Westmoreland: The Right's Attack on the Press."

Latin America Issues: "Latin America: a Political Guide," "El Salvador," and "Central America."

The 2 K.A.L. issues: "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It" and "K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions."

Prices: $3 each. $2 each orders of 10 or more.

Send check/money order to The Nation, Reprint Dept., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. New York residents add appropriate sales tax.

"Requiem for the American Empire"
Copies of Gore Vidal's acclaimed article, from the January 11 Nation, are now available. The cost is $1.50 per copy and $1 each for orders of 10 or more. Make checks payable to The Nation. Price includes postage. Send orders to: The Nation, "Requiem," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. New York residents add appropriate sales tax.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call (805) 687-6000, ext GH-3596 for information.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4. Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

SUMMER CAMP

CAMP HURLEY is a summer camp in upstate New York which involves children 6 to 13 and teens 14 to 17 of diverse racial, ethnic and economic backgrounds in learning to struggle for democratic values. Request brochure from United Community Centers, 833 Van Siclen Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11207, (718) 649-7979.

SUMMER RENTALS

BROOKLYN, PARK SLOPE, August sublet, Charming, new 2-bedroom garden duplex. 10 minutes to Manhattan. $950. Call (212) 675-0511 evenings.

SAG HARBOR full-season rental. Charming 1850 house and garden on quiet street. Walk to village, bike to beaches. All appliances. $7,500. (212) 864-2650.

GOING SOMEWHERE?

Looking for a London flat for the summer?

Renting your cottage on the coast?

Hoping to exchange your Manhattan apartment for a Manhattan Beach house?

ADVERTISE IN THE NATION CLASSIFIEDS.

We've been told over and over how Nation classifieds locate responsible tenants and beautiful summer rentals.

You'll reach 65,000 subscribers, over 16,000 of whom are academics with the summer to travel.

The Nation offers listings under **Exchange** or **Summer Rentals** headings.

To place an ad use the classified coupon. Rates $1 a word, 15-word minimum.

TRAVEL

UNUSUAL CRUISES: freighters, expeditions, minicruises, yachts, group discount trips. TravLtips, Box 188U7, Flushing, NY 11358.

SOVIET TOURS FOR TEACHERS/ACADEMICS
Dep. NYC July 25 & Aug. 16/$2095, all-incl./3 wks. ea.
Prof. Meetings/ESR/N. O. Sponsor
Mr. Popkin (504) 524-3044 (aft. 6 P.M./Dr. Eckstein (504) 865-5585 (bef. 1 p.m.)

LONDON ENGLAND Bed and Breakfast in selected private homes. Cities Now (Dept. S), Box 2094, La Jolla, CA 92038.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: $1 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $45 per column inch.

Deadline: Wednesday, 17 days prior to Saturday issue date.

Discounts: with 3 runs, 1 free; with 7 runs, 3 free.

To: THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for ____ weeks, plus ____ weeks free.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment must accompany order. **Payment in U.S. currency.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. Trips depart May, June, July and August. Information: Alice McGrath, Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

HEALTH STUDY TOUR TO NICARAGUA

4th annual health study tour to Nicaragua: urban and rural clinics, hospitals, training programs, community organizations, women's organizations, religious leaders, journalists and political leaders.

The May 31 to June 14 tour will give an excellent overview of health and social services in a rapidly changing society. Contact Links, c/o Kirk Dearden, 1144 Commonwealth Avenue, Apt. 2, Allston, MA 02134.

TRAVEL TO CHINA: small group leaving August 21 returning September 16 seeks additional interested people. The 26 days include 5-day/4-night cruise on the Yangtze River. TOTAL cost $4,100. For details call Jack Karan, evenings (718) 871-5111.

T-SHIRTS

FASHION CONSCIENCE or fashion conscious, wearing a Nation T-shirt makes a statement. Red or black with white lettering, "The Nation" is printed on the front and "since 1865" on the back. All cotton, S, M, L and XL. $8.95 each, including UPS delivery. (New York residents add sales tax.) Mail check or money order to The Nation, Fashion Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT SALE!

First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt
WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE
CORONA GRAPHICS
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920

SPECIAL
2 For $13.95 PPD!
$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL
Visa & MC

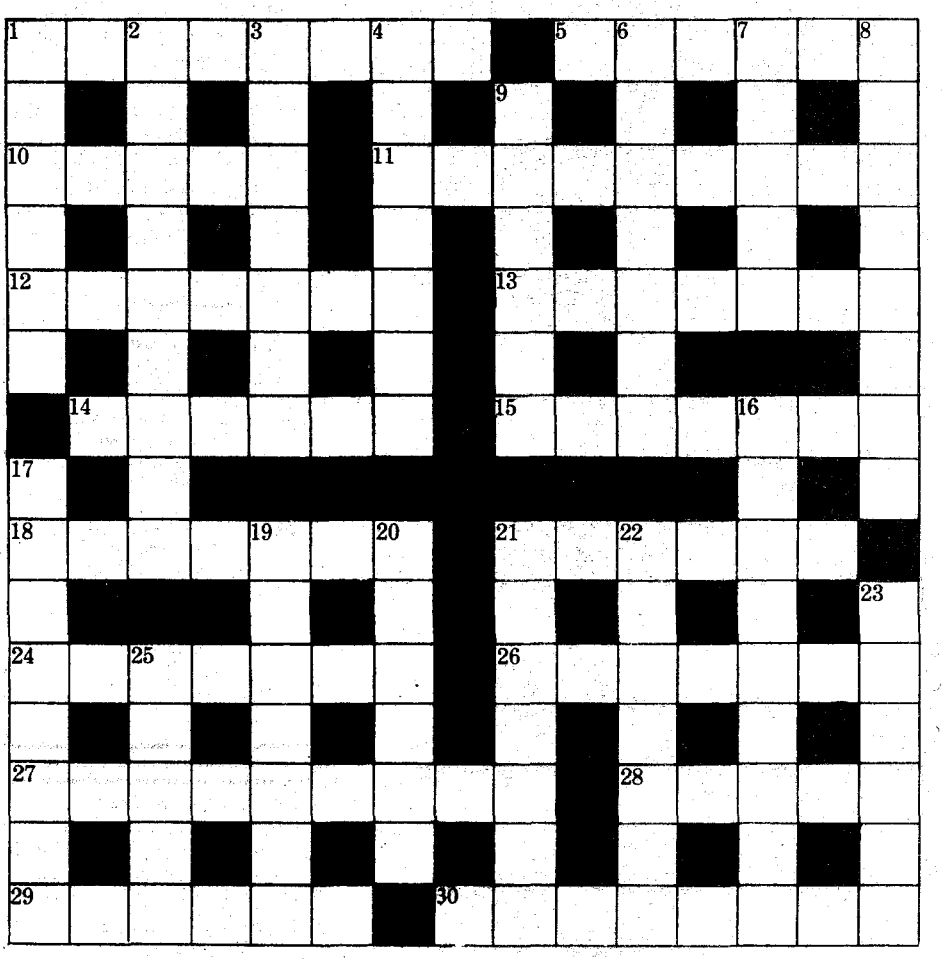
THINK PINK! BE READ! Wear our T-shirts with leftist slogans. Free flyer: RED PEPPER, Box 11308-N, San Francisco, CA 94101.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2099

A	D	A	Y	I	N	J	U	N	E	■	A	B	L	E
E	■	U	■	N	■	U	■	U	■	D	■	R	■	V
R	E	D	A	C	T	S	■	M	O	O	R	A	G	E
O	■	I	■	A	■	T	■	B	■	U	■	M	■	N
S	L	E	E	P	L	I	K	E	A	B	A	B	Y	■
T	■	N	■	A	■	C	■	R	■	L	■	L	■	P
A	R	T	I	C	L	E	S	■	H	E	R	E	T	O
T	■	■	■	I	■	■	■	■	■	B	■	■	■	E
I	N	C	I	T	E	■	S	H	O	R	T	C	U	T
C	■	O	■	A	■	A	■	O	■	E	■	H	■	A
■	W	H	A	T	I	S	S	O	R	A	R	E	A	S
S	■	E	■	I	■	C	■	T	■	S	■	M	■	T
C	O	R	R	O	D	E	■	O	U	T	L	I	N	E
O	■	E	■	N	■	N	■	W	■	E	■	S	■	R
T	E	S	T	■	S	T	O	L	I	D	N	E	S	S

Crossword Puzzle No. 2100

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 5 Steal something like an anesthetic, such as 10, but it may not tell specifically what. (8,6)
10 Acts like an angel, in a way, for some football players. (5)
11 It relates to the bearing of the bettor (*sic*)! (9)
12 What sometimes has a firm beginning ends in some confusion, though we might all like good ones. (7)
13 Only half-murmur, taking sick, with nothing for the artist. (7)
14 An intimate report of an old lady friend? (6)
15 Find new accommodation for the roue—he's bad! (7)
18 Does he make his meal out of this? (He told about Moby Dick, too!) (7)
21 The incarnation of "The Girl and the Sailor." (6)
24 Where he sails, the old sailor—in good season, of course. (3,4)
26 Worse—at least poorly—around the capital of Louisiana—but that's what football takes! (7)
27 Someone like Selassie, in a composition for the piano, I fancy. (9)
28 The former chairman starts out right, as a native of New Zealand. (5)
29 Tables might be, or little birds—about the way poverty exists. (6)
30 They may be reached in flight—or after them. (8)

DOWN

1 Could the deal be Italian? Part of it is, although obvious. (6)
2 Fire the clergy, and get what the penitent has as a matter of habit. (9)
3 One who looks up around the total keeps on going this way. (7)
4 Comes unexpectedly when whiphandles are not down. (5,2)
6 Makes a run the hard way—as one might discover. (7)
7 The mineral might be green, yellow, pink or white, and partially rubbery-like. (5)
8 Crooked necked, or commonly thought to be so. (8)
9 A chemical compound is mistakenly more taken for it. (6)
16 Some tracks are termed this—but that's the way the ball bounces! (2,3,4)
17 In Munich, one beer might be enough for a deep thinker! (7)
19 Seafood for a sailor, all by himself! (7)
20 Doesn't quite finish late, by way of the country . . . (6)
21 . . . or another . . . (7)
22 . . . being not quite all prepared for war, though warned of it. (7)
23 Supposedly what some modern women don't wear around in total intelligence as some say. (6)
25 One accompaniment for 2 might be found in the fireplace at times. (5)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THINK TWICE BEFORE FILLING THIS OUT.

THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES! I THOUGHT TWICE AND I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of a full 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please Print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Double my savings. Send me a full year (47 issues) for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8616

If you pick up *The Nation* now and then and have thoughts of subscribing regularly, think it over carefully. Because a subscription may be more than you bargained for.

For one thing, it's apt to upset you on a regular basis. The facts can be hard to take. And David Pearson, Penny Lernoux and Stephen F. Cohen are interested in facts.

That's one reason our writers are some of the best around. And they do their best writing for us.

There are other advantages to subscribing, too. Including writing on the arts of such clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should fill out the coupon after all.

Just don't say we didn't warn you.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED